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The New Encyclical

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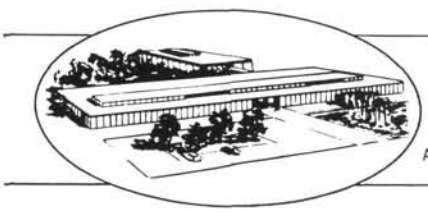

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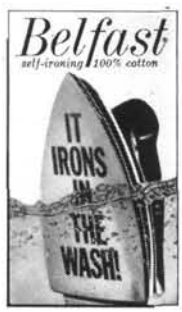

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

➔**James Burnham** writes the definitive article about the Americans for Democratic Action—what it is, how it got started, who-all are its succubae, what is its impact on American policy, in particular on American foreign policy. It is fashionable to speak of the ADA as having no influence at all. But to do so is to confuse what ought to be with what is. The ADA is here apparently to stay, and to act as prime distiller of the moral and intellectual sedatives prescribed for our foreign policymakers (take one before each decision). Mr. Burnham, you will note, is in Sicily, seeing Sicilians, writing about the new encyclical and pulling together his important new book (have you noticed, *all* books by editors of NATIONAL REVIEW are important? Wouldn't you think *one* of them would just *once* write an *un*important book?). . . **Ayleen McGarvey,** a freelance short story writer from Wellesley, Massachusetts, talks off the top of her well-stocked head about the meaning of life and death, mostly of life, in an age when someone always seems to be just about ready to take it away from us.

➔Professor **Will Herberg,** NATIONAL REVIEW's distinguished religion editor who has unfortunately not been well, hence his absence for several months, is back on the scene to discuss Pope John's new encyclical, about which so much is being said. But not, says the astute Dr. Herberg, exactly what ought to be being said about it, which is that one must allow, when reading the encyclical, for differences in perspective. It can be understood only in a very special gear, in a sort of moral overdrive which floats over the flaws and ditches and ambushes that beset the good leader who tries to make a peaceful world in a planet inhabited by Communists. . . . **Russell Kirk** reports on the sheer fun (and profit) of some of the student-organized colloquiums going on all over the place, where Mr. Kirk runs into the strangest people, and has the opportunity to Bore from Within.

➔**John Chamberlain,** assigned the job of reviewing *Rumbles Left and Right* by Wm. F. Buckley Jr., writes a short essay on the man and his style which, unwittingly, primarily illuminates the generous instincts and unfailing personal grace of the reviewer. . . **Guy Davenport** handles, with great ingenuity, the first novel of our very own irreplaceable Joan Didion, celebrating the mastery of her prose, but also teasing her a little, in heated anticipation of Novel #2. *Run River* is published this week. . . Mr. **William J. Fitzpatrick,** a member of the Department of English at Rutgers, discusses the new pacifist novels. Ho hum. **Colin Clark** reviews three new economics texts and histories. . . . And **Algernon Hogg,** a veteran foreign correspondent, describes the life of journalists in Vientiane. As we go to press, the distinct possibility is that the life of Western journalists in Vientiane will be mostly in jail.➔

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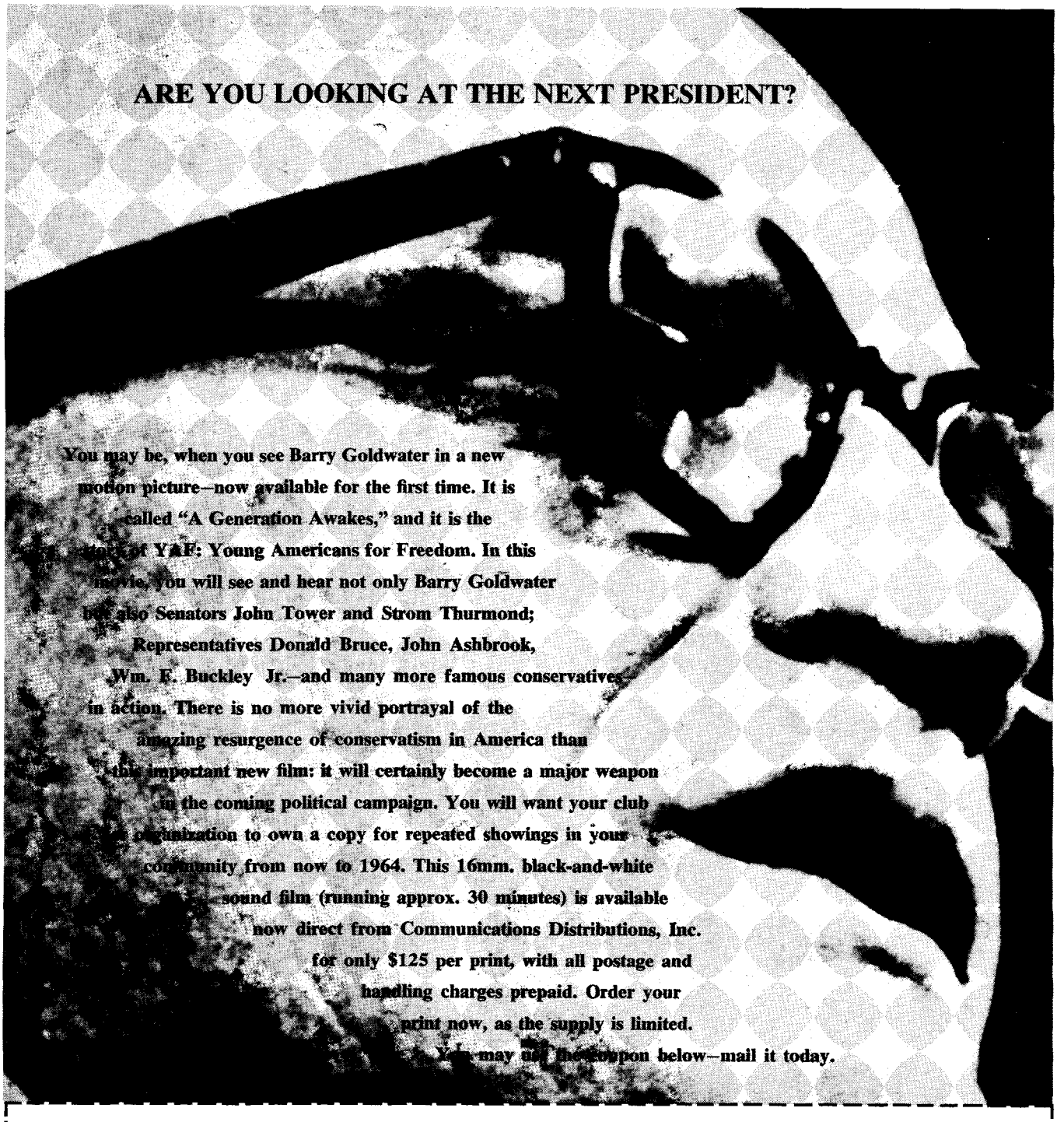

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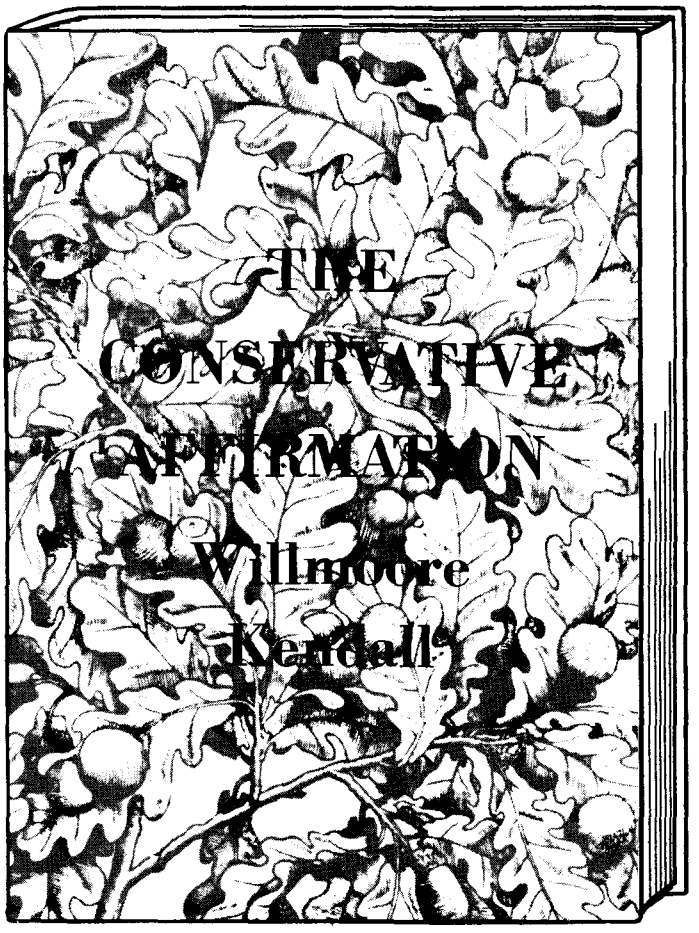

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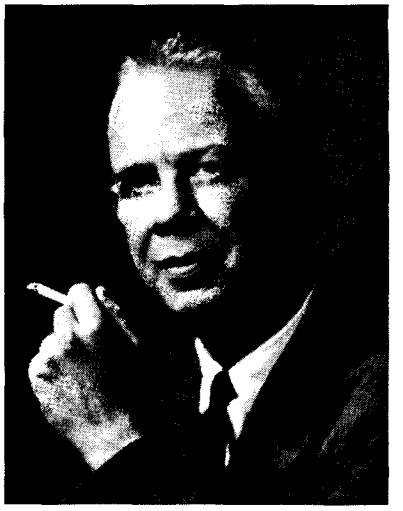

The author, a Rhodes scholar and senior editor of NATIONAL REVIEW, Associate Professor of Political Science at Yale University for many years, accurately states what an American Conservative feels. Willmoore Kendall has been visiting professor at Georgetown and Stanford Universities . . . was chief of the Latin American Divisions of the State Department and the CIA . . . is the author of many books and articles on intelligence, psychological warfare, political science.

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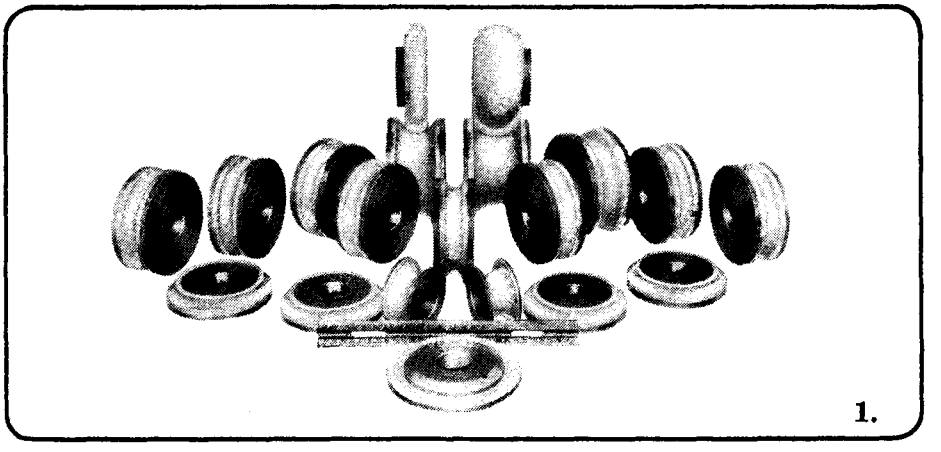
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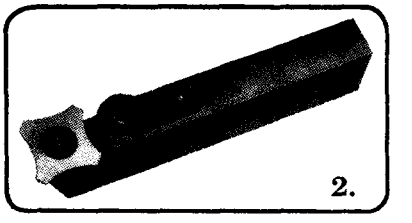
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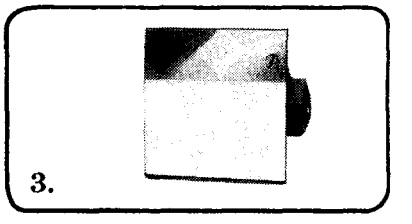
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The WEEK

● THE BANG! POW! OOOF! AGGGHHH! THEORY OF HISTORY DEPT. (From the Sunday *Times*, 4/7/63, article by Eric Goldman, professor of history at Princeton.): "One time, about to board a plane for Chicago, my eye fell on a copy of Mickey Spillane's *Kiss Me Deadly* and it dawned on me that for years I had been talking about American culture without ever having read one of its most popular spokesmen. Well, I read Mr. Spillane, snarling sentences, kicks in the stomach, cult of action and all, and I understood the persistent strain of McCarthyism in American life as I had never quite understood it before."

● President Kennedy has announced that the "long-range interest" of the United Steel Workers is identical with the long-range interest of the nation. Charlie Wilson was hounded out of office for saying the same about Steel's biggest customer.

● The State Department did its best to have Michel Struelens deported—because he represented Katanga while we were backing the UN's policy in the Congo. The State Department publicly announced that it would not issue Georges Bidault a visa if he sought refuge in the United States—because he heads up a clandestine organization which opposes President de Gaulle's rule in France. But tootling around the country recently, making speeches, raising money, propagandizing, was Holden Roberto, head of a terrorist group which slaughtered an estimated 10,000 people in Angola two years ago and is training fresh troops for a renewal of the slaughter any day now. Presumably the State Department allowed Roberto in, and knew what he was up to. What we'd like to know is, what was the State Department up to?

● President Kennedy rightly slapped down the suggestion, put forward by chairman John A. Hannah of the Civil Rights Commission, that the Federal Government cease all payments in the State of Mississippi until it is satisfied Mississippi has ceased all racial discrimination. That a federal agency should dally with the archaic notion of collective punishment is shocking enough, and grounds for dismissing the Civil Rights Commission officers responsible for urging the scheme; but the delayed-fuse shocker is to be found in the President's argument that Mississippi gets more out of the Federation than it puts into it, and *therefore* should live up to the Constitution. Turn that one over, and states like New York and Michigan and California and all such others that get *less* out of Washington than they put into it turn out to be ripe for secession. Or at the very least, these states might cease making payments to Washington until they are satisfied Washington has ceased all discrimination against them in tax collections.

● On April 7 the Committee for the Monroe Doctrine (79 Madison Avenue, NYC 17, NY) issued a statement by its chairman, Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker, following the incredible developments in White House policy towards Cuba. The statement said, in part, "The Kennedy Administration has committed the final betrayal of Cuban hopes for freedom by its order to block the activities of exiled Cuban freedom fighters to liberate their nation from Communism. . . . President Kennedy is underwriting continued Soviet control over Cuba with the armed might of the United States. . . . A massive and fatal historic contradiction is perpetrated by the young men who control the executive branch of our government—a contradiction which, if carried to its ultimate conclusion, places the security of the Nation in immediate jeopardy." The Committee has circulated some 325,000 copies of a petition calling on Congress to reaffirm the Monroe Doctrine and to apply it towards removing Communism from Cuba, and according to the Committee approximately one million signatures have been sent to Congress on these petitions.

● On December 7, Joseph Mitchell, the city manager of Newburgh, New York, who became notorious because he wanted to cut back welfare payments to demonstrable malingerers and chiselers, was picked up by detectives and charged with having arranged a bribe in return for promising to push through a rezoning ordinance for the benefit of a commercial project. Last week a jury found him not guilty, after a costly eighteen-day trial. The mayor of Newburgh, who calls himself a Liberal, wanted to deprive Mitchell of his job anyway, but yielded grudgingly to those who believe that a man is innocent until proved guilty: and now Mr. Mitchell is back at his desk, where he will fight again, we hope, against bureaucratic welfarism.

● Suddenly General Clay becomes an authority on foreign aid; his report is widely accepted as pure doctrine; the word is that Congress, in a seizure of reason, will reduce the annual leakage. Is it all that simple? Consider that the U.S. gold reserve continues to decline, and that foreign aid programs drag our international payments balance into the deficit column, and that the problem is getting critical. Why not let the White House get the credit for coming out with the usual request for foreign aid, then set

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up General Clay as the patsy to argue for some cuts, and meanwhile tell Congress it had better really hack away or else the U.S. dollar isn't worth a hoot in Hades? Such a plan would have the merit of concealing from general view the Administration's official concern over our progress towards international bankruptcy, while still doing something about it.

● Rep. Donald Brotzman (R., Colo.) has discovered, with some astonishment, a federal position for "The Assistant to the Deputy Special Assistant to the Assistant for Space Office, Deputy Director, Research and Engineering (Tactical Warfare Programs) of the Defense Department's Tripartite Cooperation Program, Sub-Group M, Military-Space Research," Ho hum.

● Ludwig Erhard has won the fight for control of the Christian Democratic Party after Mr. Adenauer checks out this fall. Adenauer's opposition to Erhard has bewildered those who see only the similarities in their positions on internal economic policy, for both are indeed conservatives, who believe in the free market economy. Could it be sheer petulance? Adenauer is a man given to strong personal likes and dislikes, and there seems to be little doubt that he dislikes intensely the professor of economics under whose ministry Germany has done so well. But Adenauer is a German patriot; and his opposition to Erhard is, we may assume, founded on more than personal caprice. It is founded, in point of fact, on deep misgivings about Erhard's political maturity, most especially deep misgivings about his capacity to maintain West German unity behind an effective anti-Communist policy. There are several respects in which West Germany is the most crucial nation in the Western world. Let her drop her guard, and the revolution will spill over the Wall like a tidal wave, and would not stop short of the English Channel. If we could count on firmness in Washington, our own magnetic field would serve to maintain the stability of our foreign allies. But our own floundering, indecisiveness, and ineptitude make us to a considerable extent dependent for our own security on the policies of others. Which is why Dr. Adenauer's reservations about his successor are a matter of great concern not merely to Germans, but to Americans.

● Premier Khrushchev hugs and cheers Marshal Tito in Moscow in December. (*Oh dear!*) Premier Khrushchev revises his May Day slogans and recognizes Yugoslavia as a full-fledged member of the Communist bloc. (*Oh dear! Oh dear!!*) The United States Congress begins hearings on foreign aid. (*Oh dear! Oh dear!! Oh dear!!!*) What to do? 1) Tito has two long and chummy talks with U.S. Ambassador Kennan. 2) Yugoslav Ambassador Micunovic calls on Secretary of State Rusk. 3) Tito writes President Kennedy a warm and friendly letter, the first such personal exchange, assuring JFK, as he had already assured Kennan, and as Micunovic had assured Rusk, that appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, Yugoslavia remains first and always an "independent, socialist, and unaligned" state. ("I'd appreciate it," says Tito in effect, "if you'd pass the word on to Congress.") Predictable result: more U.S. aid to Yugoslavia.

● Via Veneto wits are recounting this story (apocryphal *si*) of a recent conversation between Pope John and an American cardinal. The American asks the Pope whether it was really advisable to have sent Monsignor Willebrands to Moscow to talk things over with the schismatics. The Pope replies: "*Non dire schismatici, figlio mio, ma fratelli separati.*" The American then asks, was it wise for the Pope to deal with Adzhubei, a militant atheist and an ally of the Devil. To which the Pope replies: "*Non dire diavolo, figlio mio, ma—angelo separato.*"

● On May 21 the nation's wheat farmers will have the opportunity of voting on the Wheat Referendum. The issue at stake is no less than complete government control of wheat production in the country, down to the smallest farm, and the Administration has pulled out all stops in an effort to obtain the control it craves. All the scheme needs is a two-thirds vote. In previous referendums only a small fraction of eligible producers voted, because small farmers could stay outside the federal control apparatus anyway by refusing subsidies. It is thus vital that they vote this time—against the Agriculture Department's Proposals. Otherwise the only Freeman on Agriculture will be the Secretary.

● As you know, each year the Eagle Scout Presentation at the White House includes a tour of the mansion, a visit with the President, and a souvenir gift of some sort for every scout. In times past the gift has been a photograph of the White House or a scroll copy of the Declaration of Independence or something along that line. This year the Eagle Scouts received a tie clasp, in the shape of a PT boat, with the name "Kennedy" stamped on it. Well, in one way every man is an eagle. It's just that some are more eagle than others.

● Rep. Francis Walter, Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, is seriously ill. Congressman Walter has been away since January from the desk on which a large part of the strategy against the internal conspiracy is plotted, and is now reported hospitalized in Washington. His enemies

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have understandably come to regard Mr. Anti-Communism as indestructible. NATIONAL REVIEW trusts they are right, and salutes him in his most recent battle.

● San Diego State College has overruled those of its students who had issued an invitation to Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch Society, to give a talk. The grounds? That such a talk "would be more of a show and would have little educational value." Well, what's wrong with a show? San Diego State College is not exactly Plato's Academy. And where are the legions of the Civil Liberties Union?

Laos

The emptiness of the position which holds that South Vietnam's problems derive from a popular resentment against President Diem is being revealed in Laos, which is being governed not by a rightist but a far-leftist coalition, and is being progressively overrun by Communist-directed troops. The Harriman Plan for Laos was preposterous on the face of it, resting as it did on solemn assurances tendered by Khrushchev, of all people, that if we would consent to a coalition government, the Communist partners in that government would abide by the covenant, and leave Laos alone. Not only did we proceed as though Khrushchev's word was Mosaic in its reliability; we forced the anti-Communist government, literally forced it, to gamble the life of the country on Mr. Khrushchev's credibility. Well, *NR* has often enough gone into that, and for over a year predicted that things would go as now they are going; and the question is not any more what should we have done then, but what shall we do now. Apart, that is, from firing Harriman; which, it would seem, is an appropriate gesture of sympathy for a people who are losing their country.

The government must promote a military rally in Laos, manned by Southeast Asian freedom fighters, and armed by the United States. The liberationist forces should be viewed as a strategic unit alongside the South Vietnamese army, and Formosan forces to the northeast should exert flanking pressure on the Chinese mainland. The operation would be costly, though probably no more so than the sum total of the aid we have given over the years to President Sukarno, who last week reiterated his loyalty to Red China, and to Communism in general, by applauding the advances of the Communists throughout Asia. It must be understood that failures in diplomacy are very very costly indeed, but that their cost cannot be viewed as prohibitive unless we begin to doubt the very axiom of our foreign policy, which is that no cost is too high to place on

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our own freedom. And then, again, for purposes of the long term, it is indispensable to convince the Communist powers that we shall not accept reversals, under any circumstances, anywhere in the world. If ever we could convince them of this, of the foredoomed futility of any effort to spread their empire, they would curtail their masochistic sallies; and the chances of peace would be augmented.

Comes the Dawn?

Two years ago, a year ago, it was only a dream: The Conscience of a Conservative at the helm of the GOP?

Consider a few events of last week. The *Atlanta Constitution* publishes the results of its survey, showing Barry Goldwater to be the almost unanimous choice of the solid South. According to this survey Senator Goldwater would get 250 delegate votes from the South if he ran this week, and Rockefeller would hardly have a splinter to stand on. A New York radio station conducted a simultaneous survey and came up with an astounding majority for the Senator, and a reassuring vote against Rockefeller-Kennedy Liberalism. Then *U.S. News* (April 29) gave cover-story prominence to an analysis of the National Draft-Goldwater Committee (Box 1964,

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POEMS TO SEVEN PEACE-MAKERS

I

If you ask usk
You're Super-Ultra-Plusk,
Because from dawn to agonizing dusk
You're performing some herculean diplomatic tusk:
When there's a concession to discussk
You never miss the busk,
And we know you're the Real Thing and not the Husk
Because you're Clear-Eyed and never Brusque.
We also know, when the price of ingratitude
to handouts rises as it always musk,
You'll adjusk,
Rusk.

II

Got another island
In the Bye-and-Bye Land,
A wet or dry land,
A low or high land,
Maybe your or my land,
A sort of Pie-in-the-Sky land,
But where-no-journalists-can-pry land,
Wieland?

III

If there's one thing that's ineveral,
It's that India and Pakistan will never
be in loveril,
And the reasons for this are several.
So why not just finish your Boveril
And live and let livèril, Averil?

IV

The implication that Squirts
Succeed Squirts
Is what hurts,
Isn't it, Wirtz?

V

It's always bester
To jester
About the messter
Than to fester
And to pester
Just because you're lesster
Than you were yester,
Chester.

VI

How's it upstairs with the
Black and blue bottom,
Rubottom?

VII

Fish troutly, fish shadly,
Dress lassly, dress ladly,
Fly Romely, Baghdadly.
Tastes differ, some madly.
On one point we gladly
Concur: Galahadly
Or not, we've been hadly.
So please be comradely
Assured we need badly
To praise you in, sadly,
Absentia, Adlai.

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Washington 25, D.C.) with emphasis on the thesis (first developed in the pages of *NR* by Publisher William A. Rusher, February 12) that Goldwater could give Kennedy the industrialized Northeast and California, take the South and Midwest, and become President in 1964.

Make no mistake about it, there is substance and seriousness now in the circles where, even at this early date, decisions are being formed. It's almost like dreaming someone's turned on the lights, and waking up to find the sun in your face.

Up, Steel!

The President has, as the saying goes, "authorized" steel to make "moderate" price increases. In doing so he is not unaware that the steel unions are about ready to ask for a raise, and that if he had "denied" the steel companies the right to an increase, he could not very well have gone along with the labor unions when their turn came. But it is one thing to bully U.S. Steel, another to bully the Steelworkers Union; so the President acted with his usual political acuity, and gave way.

Which alas surpasses his economic acuity, of which he has never been found guilty of having any at all. The steel manufacturers don't *want* to raise the price of steel when they are having trouble selling it as it is. What they would *like* to do is *lower* the price of steel. But this they cannot do unless they can reduce costs, and the automation issue over which the great strike of four years ago was fought pretty well rules that out. And the principal cost, the cost of labor, is irreducible in a market governed by a monopoly labor union. Meanwhile, profits have been getting slimmer, and Steel realized that the entire capital structure of the industry was imperiled. So, taking advantage of brisk spring business, they raised some of their prices slightly.

The situation is alarming enough as it is. Unless the industry can cut costs somewhere along the line, it will yield more and more of its market to foreign competition. If labor now comes along and asks for a raise which will absorb all or most of the price increase, the troubles will be severely aggravated. The price inflation the President says he fears when he is talking about steel, but which he adamantly encourages by drafting a heavily unbalanced budget, will proceed, unemployment will increase, and the economic czar at the White House will blame—not himself, or his lack of economic statesmanship, but those economic myths he denounced at Yale University a year ago. He will blame the free enterprise system, which the laws of the land are not permitting to go to work on the steel problem in its own wise, reliable way.

Back to Woodburners?

The last legal obstacle having been cleared away, the nation's railroads were prepared to get going early in April with their plan to eliminate thousands of featherbed jobs that cost them, they say, $500 million a year in wages for superfluous employees (such as "firemen" on diesel locomotives). But the operating unions threatened a national strike; so the emergency powers granted under the Railway Labor Act went into effect, and any strike will be deferred while a Presidential commission studies things for sixty days.

No doubt the President will be advised to view the matter as a political problem: how to keep 200,000 railway employees contented at least until November, 1964. But in the long run it is an economic problem: how to break the disastrous cycle of wage rises (featherbedding is, in its effect, an uneconomic wage cost) causing high transportation rates causing less business causing unemployment (railway employment is down from 1,400,000 in 1945 to 700,000).

That cycle must be broken if the rails are to survive, and it can be broken, mercifully (that is, without drastic dislocations), by the simple program of not replacing featherbed employees who retire, resign, or die, and by shifting featherbed employees, where possible, to economically useful railway jobs as they become available through retirement and so on. Only one group would suffer from such a program: the union bosses, who would lose much of their power as their empires diminish. It will be interesting to see if a handful of union leaders can squelch the industry's only hope for progress.

Conservatives at Work

Because of the crucial leverage it may exert on the New York State delegation to the 1964 GOP Convention, it is worth noting that the Conservative Party of New York is taking firm hold of the political position it stormed by gathering 142,000 votes last November.

In recent weeks its public statements on Laos, tax policy, Cuba, Vietnam, and domestic politics have received serious and objective reporting in the press and on TV. Out-of-state coverage has increased, thanks to wire service reports on the Conservative Party's doings. Journalists have published accurate appraisals of the potential importance of the new Conservative voice in state and national politics.

The Party has started its enrollment drive and published for its clubs a thorough-going *Political Action Manual*. On May 7, at Town Hall, the Party will hold a public forum on Cuba, with such eminent speakers as Spruille Braden, former ambassador to

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As One Good Friend to Another...

Representative Adam Clayton Powell is, in congressional patois, the Honorable Gentleman from New York. Senator Wayne Morse is ditto from Oregon, and Senator John J. Williams ditto from Delaware. What happens when one Honorable Ditto catches another Honorable Ditto playing games with yet another Honorable Ditto? The Congressional Record *knows. Proceed, gentlemen. . . .*

MR. MORSE: I rise to take exception to a speech made on the floor of the Senate yesterday by the Senator from Delaware. It contained, in my opinion, such a serious imputation against the character and reputation of a colleague on the House side that in my judgment the speech should not stand, at least without a protest. . . .

MR. WILLIAMS: If the Senate wants to strike my remarks of yesterday from the *Record* that is the business of the Senate. I made my remarks yesterday, as I explained to my good friend from Oregon, on certain expenditures of government funds which I thought needed to be called to the attention of the Senate and the country. . . .

The rules to which the Senator from Oregon has referred have reference to the rules and proceedings of the House. I did not discuss this person's conduct in the House of Representatives. I never said one word yesterday, nor will I today, about this person having relatives on the public payroll who are not working. I am not calling attention to it today.

I will not mention the fact that his wife is on his payroll, nor will I raise any question as to whether she does any work. Neither will I say that he is not fulfilling his duties and is guilty of a great deal of absenteeism. I will not call attention to that fact. I did not say it yesterday.

What I did call attention to yesterday is what I will repeat today, and I will stand by it, although out of my great respect for the Senator from Oregon I will not today refer to this individual by name but instead refer to him as the very close personal friend of my good friend from Oregon. . . . Yes, I will say that my remarks refer to the Administration's expenditure and its allocation of money to this very good friend of the Senator from Oregon. I was criticizing the Administration. Perhaps I could refer to him as the Administration's sacred cow, but that perhaps would not be proper. Maybe I should refer to him as a sacred bull of this Administration. I do not care how he is referred to, but I do know I am critical of these transactions.

For example, the Housing and Home Finance Agency called attention to the fact that . . . that man borrowed $4.93 million; that is, he had arranged to do so; on mortgage guarantee to purchase a hotel in the Bronx, N. Y. . . . It was a loan at a below-minimum interest rate, three and one-eighth per cent. It was supposed to cover 100 per cent of the construction cost of the property. . . .

In addition, a second loan was negotiated, this one on Hotel 2400 in Washington. . . . I do not see why it should be a violation of anybody's conscience to call attention to the fact that the loan . . . represents exactly double the purchase price of the property. When a government loan is made . . . at exactly double the cost of the piece of property, I will stand on the floor of the Senate and criticize it on any day of the week. . . .

To make matters worse . . . this loan of $4.5 million . . . on property which . . . cost $2.25 million was approved subject to the enactment of legislation which would amount to a permanent tax abatement. . . .

I do have a letter from Mr. Mortimer Caplin, who calls attention to the fact that this good friend of the Senator from Oregon who was trying to borrow $4.5 million on property which cost only $2.25 million, this good friend of the Senator from Oregon who was asking $250,000 of government funds to study a juvenile delinquency program in Brooklyn or get $250,000 of government funds to study a domestic Peace Corps—a program which never has been authorized by the Congress—has been—and I emphasize this fact—delinquent in his federal income taxes for nine years. . . . All that he has to do to correct this situation is to pay his taxes, just as I or the Senator from Oregon pay our taxes.

MR. MORSE: Mr. President, in reply to my good friend from Delaware, seldom do I find him guilty of falling into the trap of fallacy by false assumption. But throughout . . . his speech . . . he repeatedly referred to our colleague in the House as "the good friend of the Senator from Oregon." . . . The gentleman about whom he is talking is an acquaintance of the Senator from Oregon. . . . In all of my years in the Senate I have sat with the gentleman not more than six times. . . .

MR. WILLIAMS: I wish to assure the Senator that his remarks about our own good friendship stand, but to accommodate I shall be glad to ask that the *Record* show clearly that the Senator from Oregon is not a good friend of the gentleman whom we are discussing.

MR. MORSE: No. The Senator is just as fallacious in that comment.

MR. WILLIAMS: Then the Senator from Oregon will have to bring out his position. I am trying to do the best I can.

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Cuba, Colombia and Argentina, and former Assistant Secretary of State; General Albert Wedemeyer; Ralph de Toledano, and Frank S. Meyer. Meanwhile, the Bronx organization of the Citizens Party, which polled 343,000 votes in 1961, has joined the Conservative Party.

The Party's principal purpose, which is to exert a countervailing pressure against the leftward tendencies of the Liberal Party, is being served: Republicans are increasingly aware of it and in days to come can be expected to listen respectfully to its views.

Why You Oppose Aid to Education (The Inside Story)

The National Education Association has published a leaflet by John McCormally, executive editor of the *Hutchinson* (Kansas) *News*, entitled "The Root of Opposition to Federal Aid to Education," excerpts from which follow:

"The fight over federal aid to education is, on the surface, a political fight. . . . But under the surface, in reality, *it is an economic battle* [author's italics]. . . . It falls in the classic pattern of historic battles between the haves and the have-nots. . . . The truth of the matter is that the minority, who are the elite financially and culturally, do not trust democracy very far. They tremble—and with good reason—at what would happen to their wealth and position if the masses ever really could bring the vote of the majority into full play. . . . And on the other hand, the majority, while it admits to something patriotic in the word 'capitalism,' particularly since it has become an antonym of 'Communism,' nevertheless exerts most of its political energy—and has been doing so since the last century—controlling, curtailing, and transforming capitalism into some forms and stages of socialism."

"The first and greatest of these social programs—of channeling the wealth of the nation to the benefit of the masses—is the public school system. . . . So the fight has developed and grown . . . *a fight between the people with the wealth and the people with the kids* [author's italics]. . . . Familiar cries of combat warn of the dangers of federal control; although numbers increase who refuse to be terrified of their own government. . . . Once public education has been made as much a federal responsibility as national defense or national highways, more money than was ever dreamed of will be spent on it. More than ever of the nation's wealth will be taken from those who possess it and spent on the education of the nation's children. That harsh, impolite economic truth is at *the root of the opposition to federal aid to schools* [author's italics]."

For the Record

September is target date for big troubles in Portugal, Spain. Communist activity within both countries on upsurge, outbreak of violence presumably would be timed with September session of UN General Assembly. . . . Execution of Communist Grimau, which touched off latent anti-Spanish sentiment in Western Europe and may slow or block Spain's entry into Common Market, was necessary, say many political observers, given the situation in the Iberian Peninsula at the moment. . . . CIA support of several Iron Curtain refugee groups has been abruptly terminated; a number of their language publications have folded for lack of funds. . . . National Guardian reports that far-left El Nacional, Venezuela's largest daily, lost $300,000 in advertising revenue last year because it insisted on "publishing news from Cuban as well as U.S. sources." Real reason: anti-Communists instituted boycott against El Nacional for its pro-Communist reporting.

Hawaii's House of Representatives, under domination of leftist Gov. John Burns, has passed bill limiting questioning of prospective state employees on Communist activities to preceding five-year period. . . . Harry Bridges intensifying efforts to bring all Pacific Ocean longshoremen, including Sohyo group in Japan, under his own Communist-leaning ILWU. . . . Corliss Lamont elected chairman of fellow-traveling Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. ECLC's goal this year: repeal of McCarran Act, abolition of "inquisitorial committees of Congress."

Italian workers all over Europe offered free trip home last weekend by Italian Government on condition they would vote in elections. . . . Well-informed Borghese comments that leaders of present left-center coalition all assured electorate there would be no further nationalization of industry—indicating, says Borghese, an electorate less statist-minded than its leaders. . . . French newspapers calling more accommodating trend on part of Vatican authorities toward the USSR, the "de-Pacellisation" of the Vatican. . . . Going the round of Catholic conservative circles: "What we need is a hot line between NATIONAL REVIEW and the Vatican."

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Mr. Whitney Griswold and His Successor

The death of Whitney Griswold at so young an age surprised and shocked the very broad community of his friends and admirers. He had been an able president from every modern point of view, *i.e.*, he attracted to Yale a first-class faculty, and jumped its endowment by 150 per cent. His greatest strength was his steadfast, undeviating devotion to intellect, and he fought well and vigorously against the educational instrumentalists, and the foppish ignoramuses of the NEA. His weakness as a theorist is American education's weakness: a failure to conceive any final purpose in education, the failure to relate education and eschatology. His personal weakness was a short-tempered vindictiveness towards those, particularly in the Yale family, who disagreed with him, or disapproved of Yale's monotonous Liberalism in its economics and political science faculties—a left-indoctrination against which six prominent students representing all shades of political opinion last year wrote a public letter of protest to Mr. Griswold.

It is rumored that his successor will be McGeorge Bundy, always assuming the President, Yale Litt.D., 1962, is prepared to relinquish him. Mr. Bundy could be expected to maintain the existing political climate at Yale—his vaunted Republicanism has always been sheer affectation. Twelve years ago Mr. Bundy raised the eyebrows of the Catholic graduates of Yale by writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* that no Catholic could be expected to understand Yale's traditions. Having in recent years worked in close quarters with another Catholic, he may by now have changed his mind about the capacity of Catholics to understand America's traditions. Or maybe he is more confused than ever, who knows?

Notes and Asides

Already the Vatican has had to restrain those who see in *Pacem in Terris* a vehicle for Instant Peace Through the Advancement of the United Nations. On April 22 the Vatican issued a clarification, to the effect that the Pope didn't have the UN in mind, but some "other body," which might succeed in bettering the chances for world peace. Presumably a world agency whose members subscribe to common moral principles. The incident typifies the kind of misunderstandings that result from the temptation some people feel to treat suggestive papal encyclicals as further instalments of the Bible. This particular encyclical will be widely misunderstood, as Fr. John Courtney Murray gloomily predicts, for the reasons, among others, set forth by Mr. Will Herberg and Mr. James Burnham in this issue. It is well to bear in mind that when the Pope reasons, he must submit to the laws of reason. There cannot be disagreement among Catholics about the moral value of the ends the Pope seeks, but there can be legitimate differences of opinion over the means by which those ends are most efficaciously sought. *Propter falsos testes*—on account of bad, or insufficient information—a Pope can find and frequently has in history found himself endorsing means which turn out, in the light of experience, to have been inappropriate for the realization of his own ends. And then there are problems of interpretation. Read, for instance, Fr. Murray in *America*, and James Wechsler in the *New York Post*, and you will not know you are reading about the same document. But more of this anon. In a future issue Mr. Frank Meyer will supplement the analyses of Messrs. Herberg and Burnham.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

FOREIGN AID: SUCCESS OR FAILURE?
by Rep. Otto Passman

AN ANSWER TO JAMES BALDWIN
by Garry Wills

Rumor Department

A couple of them are floating about with such persistence these days that we had better take note of them. The first rumor: that Mrs. Dorothy Schiff, the left-eccentric who runs the *New York Post*, has acquired control of NATIONAL REVIEW by putting up fifty thousand dollars. (Believe it when NATIONAL REVIEW starts sounding like Eleanor Roosevelt. Couldn't do it if we tried. The typewriters simply wouldn't accept the copy.) . . . And No. 2, that we, in turn, have acquired, or intend to, the publication *Human Events*, in Washington—to whom, incidentally, the best of luck with the new format. (Again nothing doing.) Perhaps Mrs. Schiff would be interested in financing *Human Events*?

We are behind schedule in reporting on the results of the annual drive to make up the magazine's deficit. The good news is that NATIONAL REVIEW will make it. We say this on the assumption that as in past years, contributions will continue to come in at a substantial rate during May and early June. A great deal of mail has been received, and all of it is getting individual attention, though at the high cost of a considerable delay in answering it. Please bear with your grateful friends at NATIONAL REVIEW.

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(G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS PUBLISHERS)

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The Third World War

Hominibus Bonae Voluntatis

JAMES BURNHAM

Syracuse, Sicily

Over the kiosk where I bought a newspaper in the heat of the political campaign there stretched a very large banner of Communist red with its huge hammer and sickle covering the globe, and the lettering five feet high: *Per la Pace!* I suppose it was that visual context that made me catch my breath as I read in the headline the title of the encyclical: *Pacem in Terris.*

Theology and metaphysics are outside the province of this column. Most of the long text of *Pacem in Terris* consists of the explication of traditional doctrines of Catholic philosophy—developed in many cases with a care and subtlety that will make parts of this encyclical a rewarding subject for study and meditation. But a papal pronouncement is not only a spiritual and intellectual entity. Once the ideas take on the material form of spoken and written words, they enter also into the world of time and history; they become, also, a *political* fact. And this is inevitable. The Church, even granted its own full claim, has a dual reality: as a human, historical enterprise as well as an eternal and divine communion. As an historical enterprise, its acts inevitably affect and are affected by the circumstances of time and place; and in these mundane matters the Church and its members can err, as all men and all things human do.

If we judge *Pacem in Terris* then, in its political dimensions, its meaning, foreshadowed with increasing clarity since the beginning of Pope John's reign, is fairly obvious. The Vatican too—or at any rate the tendency that now prevails in the Vatican and papal councils—has taken the *apertura a sinistra.* The text of the encyclical does not limit itself to the discussion of philosophical doctrine. It deals directly with current social, political and international issues. With respect to these it repeats, for the most part, the notions—indeed, the clichés—of Liberalism (U.S. style) and the non-Communist Left: welfarism, anti-colonialism, foreign aid, nuclear test ban, total disarmament, UN, world government, etc. But the strategic heart of *Pacem in Terris* is not this rather vague Leftism—which pervades as well the earlier *Mater et Magistra*—but the answer it gives to the problem of Communism and the Soviet Union. What *Pacem in Terris* proposes is, essentially, a policy of peaceful coexistence. That is of course why it was greeted so warmly by Communist leaders everywhere outside of the Chinese areas. A spokesman of the Italian party summed up tersely on the day of publication. "The age of crusades is over."

Saddest Are These

Pacem in Terris explains that the peaceful dialogue it proposes is to be with *Communists*, not with *Communism.* But this distinction, important as it is logically and spiritually, does not have much practical political significance. It is, in fact, only the obverse of the distinction that Khrushchev routinely makes from his side. The stress of the encyclical, moreover, is on what unites Christians with Communists—not only traits that all men share as men, but, it is alleged, common "interests," including an interest in general human welfare as well as a supreme interest in peace.

To convince oneself that *coexistence* is the primary political meaning of *Pacem in Terris* it is only necessary to reflect what an encyclical dealing with war, peace and Communism *might* have said, still remaining within the framework of the Church's tradition and fundamental Christian doctrine. Many enough of Pope John's predecessors, certainly, did not hesitate to summon Christians to do battle by every appropriate means against infidels and heretics—not seldom, indeed, against the Papacy's Christian opponents. But granted that crusades are out of theological as well as secular fashion, peaceful dialogue and coexistence still do not remain as the sole alternatives. The stress of another encyclical might surely have been on the evils, crimes and errors of the Communists, on the necessity of preventing them from extending their rule and influence, on the moral imperative to aid their present subjects to win freedom. According to the version of the Vulgate, accepted by the Roman Catholic Church, the angels did not proclaim an indiscriminate "peace on earth," but added a rather crucial qualification: "to men of good will."

Falling Towers

Why is the Vatican putting forward a policy of peaceful coexistence? I can think of only two possible explanations. The Vatican may be deceived about the nature of the Communist enterprise, and may therefrom believe that the Church can reach a modus vivendi with the Communist empire. The experience within Italy itself, where the Communist Party is in fact an accepted part of the social order, and in Poland, where a modus vivendi, uneasy but perhaps tolerable from the Vatican's standpoint, does exist, may have nourished such a deception.

Or the Vatican may have concluded that the West is finished and that the Church must prepare itself for coming to some sort of terms with the new Caesar. Since the ultimate mission of the Church is not of this world, it must seek to avoid identification with any worldly institution. It has survived the fall of empires and civilizations before now—though sometimes in the catacombs rather than by a concordat with Caesar. In this astonishing Sicilian city in which I write—from my window I look down into the vast quarry where the Athenian prisoners, and with them the worldly hopes of Athens, were shut to starve to death; and across to the ruined monuments of 3,000 years of successive conquerors—in this city it seems almost commonplace to think in terms of the life and death of civilizations.

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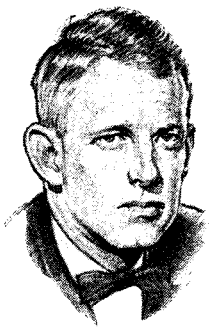
National Trends

Beware, the Mousetrap

L. BRENT BOZELL

[The Administration has adopted] a policy of containment. Because it is essentially defensive in character, it is doomed to failure . . . . I refuse to accept the contention that our only choice is between coexistence, which is another word for creeping surrender . . . and no existence. [I would] like finding out what is right for America . . . rather than what may be popular at the moment abroad. I do not believe we can any longer justify military assistance to nations that are not firmly committed to the side of freedom. . . . Under no circumstances can we justify [economic] aid which is to be used . . . for socializing . . . a basic industry.



Bozell

[Khrushchev] is shrewd enough to realize that while he took one step back [in Cuba] he had already taken two steps forward. Cuba today is the strongest military power in the Western Hemisphere [after] the United States and Canada. . . . We must no longer postpone making a command decision to do whatever is necessary to force the removal of the Soviet beachhead. *[America's overall goal must be] nothing less than a free Russia, a free China, a free Eastern Europe and a free Cuba.*

Some of his listeners were heard to remark that if the speaker had ventured a few such affirmations during the 1960 campaign, we might now have a different President. (A no less interesting question was whether, had the election gone differently, last week's speech would have been the same.) Several others contented themselves with knowing sneers about the "old" Nixon having reverted to form. But the dominant reaction at the assembled American Society of Newspaper Editors—not a group, on the whole, to let sentiment get in the way of a story—was that it had sat in on a fully accredited pre-run of Republican strategy for 1964. Where a Goldwater's toughness on Castro might be attributed to letting enthusiasm for his convictions run away with him, or Rockefeller's or Mark Hatfield's to courting conservative-oriented convention delegates, the Nixon speech was not seriously suspect on either count. Never a man to be reckless for the sake of principle, and not much concerned at the moment with personal ambition, the former Vice President was pretty clearly playing the role of Interim GOP Leader affirming a widespread party consensus on how to treat the Democrats the next time around. The Republicans, Nixon was saying, propose to hang John Kennedy on his Cuba policy.

One of the apparent curiosities of contemporary American politics is why, with a seemingly spectacular opportunity for serving both national and partisan interests simultaneously, the Republicans declined until recently to unleash a sustained party offensive on the Cuba matter. There are a couple of partial explanations. One is that the paralyzing "peace" rhetoric of the Eisenhower regime planted deep psychological roots, and managed to blunt the natural impulses of Republican politicians even after blandness had ceased to be a condition of party loyalty: as gross a provocation as the Bay of Pigs, remember, evoked only perfunctory criticism directed at the Administration's clumsiness. Another factor was the Republicans' fear that if they ventured out on the limb, the President just might cut it off. Which of course he did, and at the moment of maximum exposure. Ex-Congressman Judd, ex-Senator Capehart and others can tell a thing or two about the perils of accusing Mr. Kennedy of softness at the very moment he is preparing a play that will summon the country to a demonstration of its patriotism. And it helped not at all to be able to prove a few weeks after the election that the October play had been, with regard to the fundamental issues involved, a phony.

The Democratic Response

But now Cuba has become a Party commitment—imagine Walter Lippman's consternation on having to treat as extremists not only Goldwater, but also Nixon *and* Rockefeller!—and the Kennedy Administration, accordingly, must begin looking to its political defenses. For nothing seems clearer than that the Republican side of the nation's number-one political controversy enjoys the support of a majority of the electorate. Indeed, the Administration may have been laying anticipatory plans all along.

What *can* the President do? One thing he pretty clearly cannot do, as a reasonable man, is to hope the problem will cure itself: Khrushchev is not likely to leave voluntarily, or, assuming it is one day forthcoming, at the invitation of the OAS. There are, then, really only two things he can do. He can arrange for the de-Sovietization of Cuba through Soviet-American diplomacy, which means a "deal"; or he can summon American power—a blockade, invasion, whatever. In either case, he is likely to make the move before the election, and should he do so the Republicans are going to find themselves out on the limb again—unless they, in turn, anticipate the President's probable strategy. The way to protect themselves and the country against a deal is obvious: keep an eye out for that more-than-matching concession that would have enticed Kremlin cooperation. Mr. Nixon adumbrated the way to avoid being led into the other kind of mousetrap: "Will [the] risks [of strong action] be less in six months? A year? Two years?" But the point is not so much that the "risks" will not lessen with delay, but that the *cost* of strong action is certainly bound to *increase* as time goes on. Let the Republicans ask how many lives would have been lost if the Administration had acted purposively at the Bay of Pigs? Or in July 1962 before Soviet equipment arrived in force? Or yet in October. And then sit back and listen while Mr. Kennedy explains himself to the Mother's League.

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Does ADA Run the New Frontier?

What is ADA? How was it started? Who are its members? How effective are they? Mr. Burnham gives the answers in a sober analysis of the men behind the New Frontier

JAMES BURNHAM

Suppose you were told that an organization—call it "the XYZ Committee"—has a membership of about 40,000. XYZ (we will go on supposing) is interested in politics, and has an elaborate program covering both domestic and international affairs. Much of this program is out of line, some of it way out of line, with what most American citizens believe. However, the citizens have never had a chance to express their judgment as voters on XYZ and its program, because XYZ has never entered any election under its own name. In fact, the majority of citizens have never even heard of the XYZ Committee. Very few outside its ranks know anything about its plans, goals or methods.

Now suppose you were told further that hundreds of XYZ members are to be found at the high and middle echelons of our government: eight or ten in the Senate and several dozen in the House of Representatives; one sitting on the Supreme Court (along with several colleagues who have often addressed XYZ functions and been lauded in XYZ literature); at least two in the Cabinet; three on the top White House staff; four Under Secretaries of departments plus at least half a dozen Assistant Secretaries; the Solicitor General of the United States; chiefs of such key administrative agencies as the National Labor Relations Board, the Export-Import Bank, the Housing and Home Finance Agency; commissioners of the Federal Power Commission and Federal Trade Commission; four major ambassadors and scores of embassy attachés, among others.

Suppose these were the facts about the XYZ Committee. If in addition you learned that XYZ was a fascist or Communist outfit, you'd know it was about time to take to the hills. But even if XYZ had a marvelous program and high-minded members, there would still be reason to be disturbed. XYZ would be an *irresponsible* factor in a constitutional republic. Its members, all believing a special point of view, would be exercising great power. But there would never have been a "confrontation" between the electorate, on the one hand, and the program, policies and membership of XYZ, on the other. In our type of government, there has never in the past been anything of this sort.

Who's Who

The XYZ Committee is not imaginary. It exists, exactly as here described. Its actual name is "Americans for Democratic Action." Its national headquarters are at 1341 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.; its present National Chairman is Professor John P. Roche of Brandeis University (currently a visiting professor at Chicago University); its staff is headed by Mrs. Violet M. Gunther as National Director. Its official periodical, edited by David C. Williams, is *ADA World*.

ADA's Supreme Court Justice is Arthur Goldberg, who was shifted to the Court from President Kennedy's Cabinet. ADA graduate Abraham Ribicoff recently went from the Cabinet to the Senate. Ardent ADA member Orville Freeman continues as Secretary of Agriculture. Senators Hubert Humphrey (who has served as ADA National Chairman) and Wayne Morse are on the ADA National Executive Committee; Joseph S. Clark, Paul Douglas, Maurine Neuberger, William Proxmire, Pat McNamara, Estes Kefauver and Eugene McCarthy are also in the ADA's senatorial bloc. ADAer J. Kenneth Galbraith represents the nation in New Delhi and will be followed in that post by Ambassador and ADAer-at-large Chester Bowles. ADAer Thomas Finletter is our man at NATO. (ADA founder James Loeb Jr. was Ambassador to Peru until retired last summer after his awkward role in Peru's government overturn.) Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., another ADA founder and present Executive Committee member, works in the White House's most intimate circle, along with ADAers Ted Sorenson and Lawrence O'Brien. As Under Secretaries (*i.e.*, second in departmental command), ADAer Ivan Nestingen is at Health, Education and Welfare; Charles Murphy, at Agriculture; Henry H. Fowler, at Treasury. There were at one time no less than four ADA Assistant Secretaries at State (Averell Harriman, G. Mennen Williams, Philip H. Coombs, Carl Rowan; Harriman has since been promoted to Under Secretary, and Rowan named Ambassador to Finland); two at Labor (George L.P. Weaver and Esther Peterson); and an Assistant Postmaster General (Frederic C. Belen). ADAer Archibald Cox is Solicitor General; ADAer Charles Donahue, Solicitor of the Labor Department. ADAer Frank McCulloch is chief of NLRB; ADAer Robert C. Weaver, of the Housing and Home Finance Agency; ADAer George Docking, of the Export-Import Bank. ADAer Howard Morgan is a commissioner of FPC; ADAer Philip Elman, of FTC. Eleanor Roosevelt, a member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations, was ADA's First Lady from its birth until her death. ADAer Jonathan Bingham is U.S. delegate to the Trusteeship Council. There is some confusion over whether Adlai Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador to the UN (and member of President Kennedy's Cabinet), was ever a dues-paying ADA member, but none over the fact that he has long been closely associated with ADA and ADAers. In Mr. Stevenson's 1952

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campaign for the Presidency, ADA founder Wilson Wyatt, once ADA National Chairman, was campaign manager, and ADAer Arthur Schlesinger was chief speech writer.

(No distinction has been made between those persons who, by paying current dues and enrolling in the local Washington chapter, are formally ADA members at the present time and those who, though not having made any break with ADA or its ideas, are, technically speaking, "former members." The National Director explains that many, though not all, ADA members suspend their formal membership when elected or appointed to public office, sometimes because they feel the "ADA label" to be a practical inconvenience, more often because they think it unsuitable to have a public link with a special political group.)

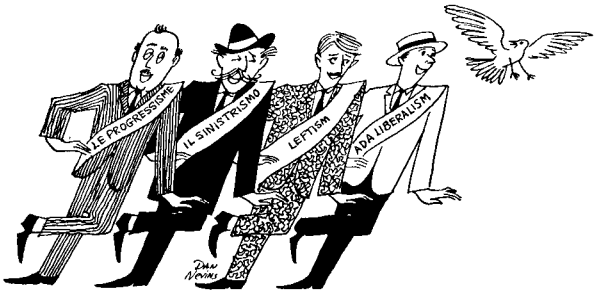
What does this unprecedented situation show about the policy of the Kennedy Administration? What bearing does it have on the country's well-being and security? Is ADA a good thing or bad thing for the nation, a promise or a threat? To answer, we must know something about ADA's origin, nature and history.

I

It is easier to say what ADA is *not* than to explain what it is. Though ADA is active in elections, it is not a political party and does not expect to become one. Again, ADA is not a secret society. Membership is open to anyone who declares his belief in the ADA program, pays five dollars in annual dues, and joins a chapter if one exists in his locality.

In spite of what some of its critics have claimed, ADA is not a "Communist plot" or Communist front. There are, no doubt, a few undercover Communists in ADA as in every organization concerned with political affairs, but ADA officially rejects Communism as well as fascism. Most ADA members are not even socialists in an orthodox sense, though some are, and among the founders there were avowed socialists like Dan Hoan, former mayor of Milwaukee.

In terms of theory and program, ADA is an *ideological tendency*. Its members are united by belief in a general *system of ideas* or dogma that guides their approach to practical problems. ADA does not have a monopoly on this ideological tendency. Many other Americans go along with it to one or another extent, though seldom so systematically. In France it is called *le progressisme*; in Italy, *il sinistrismo*; in England it is often known simply as "Leftism." ADA usually calls it "Liberalism"; or, on occasion, "the non-Communist Left."



As an ideological tendency, ADA recalls the Fabian Society, founded in London in 1883 "for the reconstruction of society according to the highest moral principles"—which turned out to be a reformed version of socialism. The Fabian Society (it still exists) has never had more than 4,000 members; but through the talents of such Fabians as George Bernard Shaw, Beatrice and Sidney Webb, and H. G. Wells, it has had a considerable effect on British society. However, the Fabian Society was never "activist." Its members stuck to talking and writing. They did not intervene directly in practical politics and elections.

ADA stresses practical politics. In terms of organization, ADA may be described as a *political club*. Like members of New York's Tammany, ADA members work actively in the precincts, in elections and registration drives, at conventions, etc. But Tammany and other political clubs familiar in our system are not "ideological"; they are practical and "pragmatic," as Americans normally are, meeting issues as they arise without any elaborate theory.

ADA is closer to the clubs that appeared during the French Revolution like the Jacobin Club, led by Maximilien de Robespierre, whose members ultimately won full revolutionary power through control of the Committee for Public Safety. Ideological political clubs always propose to reconstruct society according to an ideal plan. "According to the highest moral principles," we noted in the case of the Fabians. "To establish the reign of Virtue and Reason," was the way the Jacobin Club put it—and in the name of Virtue and Reason, Robespierre sent thousands of victims to the guillotine. The ADA program begins: "Americans for Democratic Action is an organization of Liberals, banded together to help all mankind work toward freedom, justice and peace."

ADA is organized both nationally and locally. The national office in Washington has a paid staff of about a dozen, aided by members residing in the Washington area. In each state —about twenty at present—where there are enough members, a local chapter is chartered; elsewhere there are individual members-at-large. Besides Washington the most fertile areas for ADA include: the Boston-Cambridge complex; greater New York; New Jersey; Philadelphia and Pittsburgh; Baltimore; Cook County, Ill. (where the local chapter is called "Independent Voters of Illinois"); Twin Cities; Portland, Ore. California flourished for a while, slumped, then in 1960 began a revival with a newly organized "Northern California Chapter." This started its career appropriately with a pamphlet attacking the House Committee on Un-American Activities ("San Francisco and the Un-American Activities Committee"). Most of the South and Midwest has proved barren soil for ADA seeds.

The Liberal Lobby

Officially, ADA seeks to work within both major parties (as well as New York's Liberal Party). In practice, ADA operations are concentrated on the Democratic Party, which in the words of an ADA leader "offers the best hope as a vehicle for Liberalism." As a token gesture, ADA occasionally endorses a local Republican candidate with a spotless Liberal record, but in Presidential elections there has never been any question of ADA support of the Democratic nominee.

Nevertheless, ADA resists absorp-

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tion into the Democratic Party. It criticizes even its own members in government when they stray from the ADA line on an important issue: as it strongly criticized Senator Humphrey and the other ADA senators in 1954 for supporting a bill to illegalize the Communist Party. Even with Washington as crammed with ADAers as it is under Mr. Kennedy, Prof. Samuel H. Beer insisted last spring, while still ADA National Chairman, that "we cannot simply become a political arm of the Administration."

In Congress, ADA encourages (in its own words) "the unified effort of the forces in the Liberal coalition to accomplish a maximum Liberal legislative program [and] . . . to organize a strong Liberal bloc." ADA also operates as a regular lobby, registered under the Lobbying Act, with a paid legislative representative. Former Attorney General Francis Biddle testified when Chairman of ADA that ADA functioned as part of a wider front that he called "the Liberal lobby." This galaxy of organizations is held together by interlocking directorships much like those of the utility companies in the Sam Insull era, as well as by ideology.

Among ADA's sister stars in the Liberal galaxy are the following (the names in parentheses are of "interlockers" playing leading roles in both ADA and the named group): National Committee for An Effective Congress (Telford Taylor); American Civil Liberties Union (Roger Baldwin); National Farmers Union (James G. Patton); National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (the late Walter White, Thurgood Marshall); American Association for the United Nations (the late Eleanor Roosevelt, and virtually all ADA members); Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (Eleanor Roosevelt, Harold Taylor, William Fitts Ryan, and, according to an estimate by the ADA National Director, the majority of ADA members); United Automobile Workers (Walter Reuther); International Ladies Garment Workers (David Dubinsky).

ADA is, indeed, the center of gravity of the Liberal galaxy. This is because ADA is the most serious about its "Liberalism"—that is, its ideology—and because, unlike the others, which have specialized interests, ADA is "multi-purpose," taking just about the entire universe for its province.

"Ideas in Action"

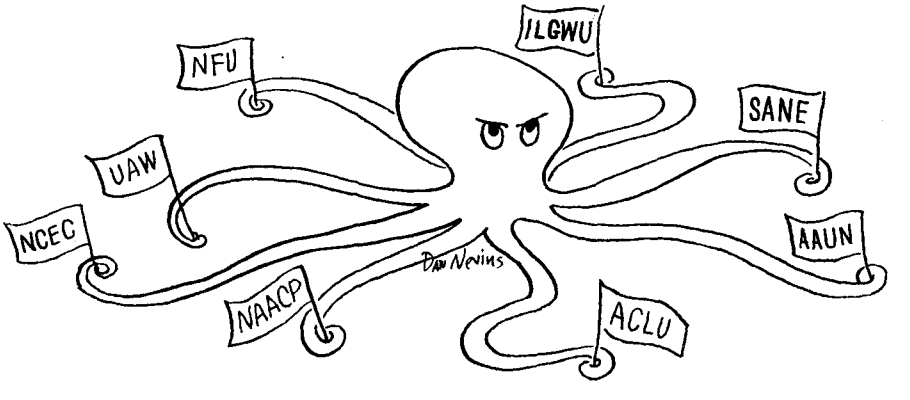
More important for the long run than party politics and lobbying, and more successful, is a third type of ADA activity: what ADA literature calls "mobilizing public opinion." Prof. Clifton Brock, in his semi-official *Americans for Democratic Action* (a 1962 ADA Book Club selection), explains: "ADA's other line of strategy has been to operate as a 'political idea' organization, an intellectual, educational and propaganda group."

Besides *ADA World*, ADA issues all sorts of pamphlets, leaflets, press releases, handouts. The ADA Book Club distributes volumes given the ADA imprimatur. Summer trips abroad—in recent years featuring tours of eastern Europe and the Soviet Union—are conducted under guidance of ADA staff members, with prearranged visits to ADA's ideological friends.

Summer schools, with big-name ADAers among the teachers, instruct their pupils in the theory and practice of ADAism. After each session of Congress, an ADA Scoresheet rates every member of both Senate and House by his fidelity to the ADA line on fifteen or twenty key measures. Conferences are arranged on civil rights, unemployment, McCarthyism or disarmament. Every January ADA stages "Roosevelt Day Dinners," at which money is raised and national political figures are coupled with ADA warhorses as speakers. "The national office operates an informal speakers' bureau. . . . A particular [and, one might add, very successful] effort is made to place members or sympathizers on national television and radio public affairs programs." (The quotation is again from Prof. Brock.) The many highly skilled verbalists among the ADA membership are continually presenting their individual versions of ADA ideology: Messrs. Schlesinger, Galbraith, Bowles, Humphrey, Wayne Morse; as well as Reinhold Niebuhr (theologian), Archibald MacLeish (poet), Marquis Childs (columnist), Palmer Hoyt (publisher, *Denver Post*), Barry Bingham (publisher, *Louisville Courier-Times*), Michael Straight (editor, *New Republic*), James Wechsler (editorial page editor and columnist, *New York Post*). . . . Viewed as a propaganda staff, the list is formidable.

Though it would no doubt like to have more than its current 40,000 or so members, ADA is not and does not wish to be a "mass organization." In his introduction to Prof. Brock's book, the well-known writer Max Lerner gives the ADA theory on this point in sociological jargon: ADA is "an idea-in-action, and its power remains a leverage power. But leverage for what? Not for mass opinion in a mass culture . . . but for the attitudes of the creative minorities in a creative America. For it is true in politics, as in the arts, that the mass seeks direction from the experience and judgment of the relatively few."

The ADA story is concentrated in that quotation. ADA is a self-appointed "elite organization," an activist "cadre" (as James Loeb Jr. called ADA when he was its National Secretary). It does not seek to influence "the masses" directly, but to work with and on the minority of "opinion makers"—university teachers, writers, editors, TV commentators, columnists, publicists, and accessible political leaders. With the "leverage" thus secured the unwitting majority is to



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be swung toward the ADA goals. Prof. Brock rightly remarks that it is this *combination* of the ideological and activist aspects, of theory and practice, that makes ADA unique among native American organizations; and, one might add, gives ADA a power remarkable for its modest numbers and income.

II

Americans for Democratic Action was born at a public dinner on January 4, 1947, the offspring of an earlier organization called "Union for Democratic Action." UDA had been founded in the spring of 1941 to combat isolationism and help steer American public opinion toward entering the Second World War. It became a kind of grab-bag pro-war, "anti-fascist" united front of intellectuals, writers and publicists of the Left, combining Liberals, socialists and Communist fellow travelers.

By 1947 the war was over. Some UDA members had become uneasy with their Communist allies, foreign and domestic; and in any case they wanted to redirect their passion for world reconstruction toward "the tasks of peace." When James Loeb Jr. (who had been National Director of UDA), James Wechsler, and a Washington lawyer named Joseph L. Rauh Jr. (who became what Prof. Brock terms "the lodestar of ADA") proposed ADA, many UDA members, as well as various unattached intellectuals, ambitious young politicians and some labor leaders, were ready to go along.

ADA spent its first two years building an organization and proving its claim to leadership of American Liberalism and "the non-Communist Left." This meant a running fight with the Communist-dominated Liberal flank that had captured Henry Wallace. In 1948 ADA combatted the ill-fated Progressive Party which, with Communists pulling the strings, ran Wallace for the Presidency. With the collapse of the Progressive Party following the 1948 election, ADA closed its anti-Communist phase and was able to turn to more congenial chores.

ADA had not been happy at Harry Truman's nomination by the Democratic Party. (Oddly enough, to their future embarrassment, ADAers had proposed Dwight Eisenhower, along with Justice William O. Douglas, as the Democratic slate.) Swallowing its sorrow, however, ADA supported Truman in the election, and soon persuaded itself that he had moved a good distance in the right (that is, Left) direction, except where he was thwarted by ADA's favorite devils, the "reactionaries" in Congress. ADA's membership soared toward 50,000. A campus affiliate was started, and had its ups and downs as campus organizations do. The labor leaders, whose unions were contributing $35,000 or $40,000 annually in those early years, proved something of a disappointment. David Macdonald, head of the Steelworkers, dropped out, finding ADA "too militant, too left of center" for his taste (as Victor Riesel, the labor columnist, reported), and "too socialist" (according to Prof. Brock). Sol Hoffman, head of the Upholsterers' union, resigned when ADA came out for recognition of

Hubert Humphrey:
Founding Father

Communist China. But Walter Reuther and David Dubinsky remained faithful.

After scattering its fire for a year or two, ADA zeroed in on the issue that was to rouse all the fire that slumbered in its members' breasts: McCarthyism. In what came to be known as "the struggle against McCarthyism," ADA can claim to have led the hue and cry that resulted ultimately in McCarthy's Senate censure and his loss of public influence.

After a brief courtship dance in 1952, ADA plighted its troth to Adlai Stevenson. ADAers became officers in the Stevenson crusades of '52 and '56. The crusades, as it turned out, flopped; and when the stimulus of the anti-McCarthy war was withdrawn by total victory, ADA entered the lean years of what it came to call "the Ike age." Membership, activities and income slumped while the nation, as ADA judged things, slumbered.

ADA members did not at first see John F. Kennedy as the guide who would lead them out of the wilderness. He had not come quite clean against McCarthy, and his Liberalism (Joseph L. Rauh remarked) was "too intellectual," not "visceral." In the first half of 1960, ADA would have settled gladly again for Stevenson but campaigned for ADA founding father Hubert Humphrey. But reconciliation came quickly after, or rather at, San Francisco, when Candidate Kennedy immediately named ADAers to his campaign staff. With the advent of the new Administration, ADA, as was noted at the outset of this account, discovered the New Frontier to be the Promised Land, with so many political plums offered that there were hardly members enough to eat them. ADA's cup of joy ran over in 1961, when Birchism arose to take the emptied place of McCarthyism as Everyman's punching bag.

Meanwhile ADA dutifully held its annual convention each spring, to adopt a platform and elect officers and committees. The ADA leadership is like the pre-de Gaulle French Cabinets playing their game of Musical Chairs. The hard core has been just about the same from the beginning: James Loeb Jr., Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Joseph L. Rauh Jr., Hubert Humphrey, Wayne Morse (after he broke away from Black Republicanism), Walter Reuther, David Dubinsky, Robert R. Nathan, Leon Keyserling, John Roche. Everyone takes turns serving in the various offices. The platform, too—an enormous document covering every imaginable topic—changes with glacial slowness over the years. Its essential doctrine — the ADA ideology — and most of the wording are reaffirmed by the conventions year after year.

III

What, then, is the ADA ideology, believed by ADA members and expressed in the ADA platform?

A. *In relation to domestic affairs.* First and foremost, the ADA ideology calls for the total Welfare State. Most ADAers say that the ADA prophet

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in economics is not Karl Marx but John Maynard Keynes, and that what they want is not "socialism" but a planned, democratic "mixed economy." The names and definitions are not very important.

ADA has never declared for nationalization of all "means of production," and therefore is not "socialist" in the 100 per cent classical sense. But neither is any socialist party anywhere at the present time. ADA's foreign connections have always featured the socialist leaders and parties of other countries. The first foreign lecturer to tour this country under ADA auspices was Jennie Lee, a leading British socialist, wife of the very leftist Aneurin Bevan. The French socialist chief, the late Léon Blum; the Italian socialist Giuseppe Saragat; the leaders of the socialist British Labor Party and the German Social Democratic Party, have always got favorable treatment from ADA. Arthur Schlesinger, in *ADA World*, located ADA within the same movement as "the democratic socialists and leftists" of Europe.

Government Control

On every *specific* issue in every field, ADA supports government control, planning, financing or takeover. "The government must undertake to build firm foundations for enduring prosperity by bold long-range programs for the development of our resources, the rebuilding of our cities, the elimination of our slums, and the provision of full and equal opportunities for health, education and security for all our people." "Government subsidies and financing and, if necessary, government plants must be used to provide more power, more steel and other vitally necessary raw materials." "The government needs increased authority over the amount of bank credit and bank resources." "Housing goals must be set by the Federal Government." "The leadership of the Federal Government is central to the achievement of growth and full employment."

These are typical demands that appear and reappear in ADA manifestoes, platforms, articles and speeches, from the beginning to the present day. In January 1962, *ADA World* demanded, along with government Medicare and care of the aged, "a broad and comprehensive federal program . . . for schools, hospitals, cultural and recreational centers, mass transit and water supply systems." In the 1962 session of Congress, ADA members led the fight for a government-owned high voltage

Joseph L. Rauh Jr.:
Lodestar

power transmission system as they led the fight *against* assigning communications satellites to a group of private companies. Gazing out into space, ADA, unappeased by its progress on earth, sees new worlds to plan for.

Secondly, ADA is critical of the indirect or "representative" democracy defined by the Constitution, and favors steps toward direct or "plebiscitary" democracy. It proposes eliminating seniority in choosing chairmen of congressional committees; equalizing election districts by federal compulsion; abolishing the electoral college in favor of direct popular election of the President and Vice President.

Third, ADA stands for a sweeping program, enforced by all arms of the Federal Government, to eliminate forthwith all conceivable forms of discrimination in housing, voting, education, health, employment, recreation, loans and subsidies. To guarantee the ADA version of the rights of free speech and assembly, ADA advocates strict limits on congressional investigations and government security proceedings; no restrictions on passports; abolition of loyalty oaths; repeal of the Smith Act, Internal Security Act and Communist Control Act.

Fourth, ADA stands for "executive supremacy" within the government. Congress is severely scolded in nearly every issue of *ADA World* as the hotbed of reaction and stupidity. This lesson is hammered in by printing the cartoons of Herblock, who in his libel-immune medium customarily pictures the members of Congress as gangsters, idiots, thugs and scavengers. For the accomplishment of its program, ADA has always put its faith in the power of the Presidency. Prof. Brock writes of the Liberals' "long love affair with the Presidency." Using Mr. Lerner's revealing word, he observes that for ADAers, "access to the power of the Presidency" has always been "their most effective political leverage."

A revealing test of what the ADA domestic program means in practice is to go through the annual Scoresheets by which all members of Congress get their ADA rating. On each congressional bill used for scoring, a congressman gets a plus if he votes the ADA line, a minus if he votes anti-ADA. Hundred of bills have thus appeared on the Scoresheets. A plus has invariably been given to a vote *for* an increase in executive power or *for* more spending, control, planning or activity by any branch of the Federal Government—with the sole exception of control over free speech, assembly and subversion. That last is the only field in which ADA has ever advocated a decrease in the role of government.

B. *In relation to international affairs.* The ADA ideology is based on thoroughgoing internationalism. Its founding (1947) charter stated unequivocally: "The establishment of a world government with powers adequate to prevent war must be an objective of the United States foreign policy to be achieved at the earliest possible date." The official program describes ADA as "dedicated to the achievement of freedom and economic security *for all people everywhere*" (italics added). The 1961-62 version of the platform declares that "support of the principles of the United Nations"—not the national interest of the United States—"is the cornerstone of our foreign policy." ADA proposes to strengthen the UN in every way, give it a permanent armed force, remove restrictions (like the Connally Amendment) on U.S. acceptance of decisions by international bodies, etc.

Granted the ADA's dedicated internationalism, it is not surprising

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that in its periodicals and other literature we never come across any words, article or symbols that could be called "patriotic." No flag ever appears; no patriotic quotations or slogans; no reference to patriotic memories, holidays or observances. This is natural enough, for ADAers regard themselves as citizens of humanity and the world, bound to a higher loyalty than any mere national patriotic ties. They celebrate UN Day, not the Fourth of July.

Second, ADA stands for "general and complete disarmament" (except for the UN armed force), and continuous steps—including "unilateral initiatives"—toward that end.

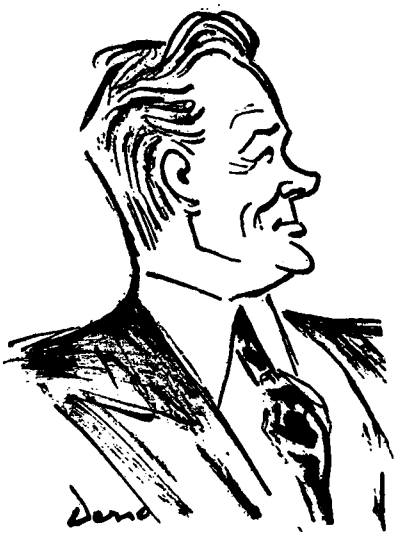
Third, ADA stands for peaceful coexistence with the Soviet Union. In the 1947 charter program, ADA laid down its perspective: "We firmly believe in the urgent need for breaking out of the vicious circle of mutual distrust between ourselves and Russia. We favor a policy based on an understanding of the legitimate aspirations of the Soviet Union." The current program declares: "Policy toward the Soviet Union should be guided by the concepts of defense without provocation and conciliation without appeasement" (no details being given on how one conciliates Bolshevik revolutionaries without appeasing them). "Top priority should be given to a relaxation of international tensions . . . The United States should take advantage of any opportunities offered for closer cooperation with the Soviet Union which may result from relaxation and greater personal freedom within the Soviet regime."

Nowhere in ADA literature is the Soviet Union identified as an enemy. ADA's war is "against injustice and inequality." "A bold program of economic stabilization, rising living standards and improved distribution" will win the war, which "must not be directed against the Soviet Union or any other nation." Suitably conciliated, the Soviet regime will prosper and relax; the era of universal peace and plenty will begin. The ADA should be granted a clear patent for invention of the No-Win policy.

Fourth, ADA since 1950 has held that "the United States should immediately withdraw recognition of the Chiang Kai-shek government as the government of China" and undertake "initiation, together with our allies, of negotiations toward diplomatic recognition of the Peiping regime and its accreditation to the UN as the government of China."

As for South Vietnam, where thousands of our men are risking their lives to help save that country from Communist conquest, ADA (in its 1962 program) finds that "the civil war is in the main the result of decay of the totalitarian Diem regime." ADAers "vigorously oppose the unilateral commitment of America's own military power and prestige to sustain governments [like Diem's] in Asia or elsewhere against resistance of their own people."

Finally, ADA is for an end to all vestiges of colonialism everywhere and "sustained U.S. help to underdeveloped countries covering a period of at least ten years." The 1962 program suggests "de facto recognition of East Germany" in return for a Soviet guarantee on access to Berlin, replacement of NATO troops in Berlin by a "UN presence," and "standing authority" for the President "to extend loans and grants to the Communist countries of eastern Europe."



Walter Reuther: *Faithful*

IV

It is necessary to define more exactly the relation between ADA and Communism.

It is a fact that ADA excludes known Communists, and it is a fact that in its first two years (1947-48) ADA opposed Henry Wallace's Progressive movement, which was the concentration point of that period for Communists and fellow travelers. (A scornful critic called ADA's founding ceremony "a purification rite for Liberals.")

But ADA's record on domestic Communism subsequent to those first two years becomes more complicated. ADA does not deny, *in general and in the abstract*, that Communists exist, that they are a menace, and that steps should be taken against them. *In particular cases*, however, ADA hardly ever gets indignant about Communists or fellow travelers. It is the individuals or institutions trying to combat the Communists that ADA singles out for attack. ADA was accurate in christening itself "the *non*-Communist Left." ADA is not "*anti*-Communist"; it is the perfect example of "anti-anti-Communism."

From 1950 until the present day, ADA has called for the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and has attacked HUAC in the sharpest manner. But you will search a long while before you find in ADA publications any sharp attack on the hundreds of Communists and Soviet agents, from Alger Hiss to the organizers of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, who have been exposed by HUAC. The Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee and the FBI are also cherished ADA targets—but not the Communists and Soviet spies whom these two agencies have unearthed.

Early in 1949 a government employee named William W. Remington, accused of membership in the Communist Party, was cleared by the Loyalty Review Board. The main editorial of *ADA World*, Feb. 16, 1949, declared: "This major civil liberties victory can be credited in large measure to Joseph L. Rauh Jr., Chairman of the ADA National Executive Committee, who undertook the defense of Remington with the same deep devotion and energy he gives to this organization and to many other Liberal causes." A little later Remington was convicted in two jury trials of having perjured himself not only in denying Party membership but in denying that he had passed classified information to a Soviet espionage courier. No editorial in *ADA World* ever commented on the conviction.

There has been no change over the

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years. Last July, Prof. John Roche, as ADA National Chairman, wrote to the *New Republic* concerning the approaching trial—after years of legal jockeying—of the Communist Party leadership: "It is deplorable that Attorney General Kennedy has . . . launched legal proceedings against Gus Hall and a dozen others for refusing to register under the Communist Control Act of 1954. . . . We believe that the Communist Control Act is both unconstitutional and unworthy of a free people." ADA has many times delivered the same judgment on the Smith Act and the Internal Security Act.

From 1951 to 1954 the columns of *ADA World* crackled with anti-McCarthy salvos. It was in this period that the Communist Party press, which in the early years had been hostile to ADA, began to modify its tone. In its issue of May 25, 1953, for example, the main head and leading article of the *Daily Worker* dealt enthusiastically with the ADA annual convention, just concluded: "Americans for Democratic Action Call for Big Four Parley, Fight Back on McCarthyism."

No Enemies to the Left

McCarthy made errors, and deserved criticism. Some individuals and organizations he denounced were innocent, but not a few were guilty. But no distinctions were made by ADA. McCarthy was the Enemy. ADA's devotion to the task of slaying the Enemy left no time for noting the Communists, spies, fellow travelers and fronts among his "victims." Even Prof. Brock is constrained to comment that "ADA for a time suffered from a 'McCarthy complex.'" In 1954 this complex led ADA lodestar Joseph L. Rauh Jr. to fall for the story of a con man named Paul Hughes, who pretended to Rauh that he was an undercover operator on McCarthy's staff. All that year Hughes fed Rauh and his friends fantastic lies, for which Rauh paid Hughes $8,500. Meanwhile Rauh and ADA were continuing their indignant public denunciations of the use of "secret informers" by the FBI and congressional committees.

ADAers, like all leftists the world over, don't *feel* the same way about "threats" from the Right and from

the Left. The real Enemy, the main Enemy, is always to the Right. Some persons on the Left—like Communists—may be partly mistaken, but, the ADAer feels, their "intentions" are good and you can reason things out with them. An unabashed anti-Communist, whether a General MacArthur or an obscure FBI agent, is a standing threat to peace and liberty, with whom no compromise is possible.

Toward international Communism and the Soviet Union the ADA attitude and practice are the same as toward domestic Communism. We should give abundant aid to Poland and Yugoslavia on the Left, but clamp harsh sanctions on South Africa or Latin American military government on the Right. We should give diplomatic recognition and UN membership to Mao Tse-tung, but withdraw recognition from Chiang Kai-shek.

No one was more uncompromising and bloodthirsty against the Nazis than the ADA founding fathers. It was war to the death—nor has ADA yet forgiven Germany: "Germany's record of cruelty and inhumanity," ADA insists, "should not be forgotten." With the Soviet Union ADA can show infinite patience. "An understanding of the legitimate aspirations," "negotiation," even "conciliation" are the proper approaches toward Moscow, while waiting for "relaxation and greater personal freedom within the Soviet regime."

There is no ADA summons to support the peoples of captive eastern Europe in a struggle for freedom. How different is the ADA outlook on Franco's Spain (which furnishes bases indispensable to our defense)! Over the years, ADA platforms thundered: "We unequivocally condemn the fascist regime in Spain. We favor political and economic support to the government-in-exile and to the democratic forces within Spain."

The attitude toward Cuba has not been different. For Fulgencio Batista—who for all his vicious tyranny was firmly aligned with the United States against Communist aggression—drawing and quartering and boiling in oil were too gentle in ADA eyes. But ADA greeted Fidel Castro's takeover hopefully and sympathetically. Prof. Robert J. Alexander explained in the April 1960 issue of *ADA World*, fifteen months after Castro had come to power, that Castro's denunciations of the U.S. were deserved, because they are "largely due to the recent history of our relations with the Latin American countries." Nothing about Communism; nothing about a threat to the United States. "The Cuban crisis," an editorial stated in October 1960, "will be solved . . . as the Cubans realize that the rest of Latin America is moving forward with our help. . . . Castro's hold in Cuba comes from what he has done for his people, not what he has done for the Russians."

When Mr. Kennedy took office, *ADA World* greeted him with the advice that he could now "test the intentions of the Castro regime by renewed negotiations. . . . The provocative and ineffective embargo of Cuba, imposed largely in the interest of the Nixon campaign, should be suspended." A year later (Feb. 1962) ADA stood unmoved as Cuba was being rapidly transformed into a Soviet military base: "Action by the U.S. to intervene militarily or to sup-

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port military invasion by Cuban exiles or by others in violation of the Charters of the UN and the OAS would be not only wrong but self-defeating. . . . [This is] no time to take unilateral economic sanctions against Cuba." Sanctions against the Right, *Sì*; against the Left, No!

With dozens of ADAers close to his ear, is it any wonder that President Kennedy held back the air cover needed for victory at the Bay of Pigs? That last autumn he failed to follow up his initiative—taken against ADA pressure from inside and outside the government—to the essential point of getting on-site inspection of the weapons in Cuba and removing a Communist beachhead from our doorstep?

The ADA is not Communist, granted. But the record and analysis of its policy prove that time and again the ADA position serves to block, blunt or smother action against domestic subversion or espionage; that time and again in international affairs, the practical consequences of the ADA position serve to advance Communist interests.

V

John F. Kennedy is not an ADA member and never has been. He seems to be an able, pragmatic type of political leader in the normal American tradition, rather than an ideologist guiding his actions by a complicated system of abstract, utopian ideas. Not more than 10 per cent of the ADA membership, according to Prof. Brock, supported Mr. Kennedy's nomination prior to the San Francisco convention. In 1953 the *Saturday Evening Post* reported him as saying: "I never joined the ADA. I'm not comfortable with those people." Still, between 1953 and 1960 Mr. Kennedy must have got over some of his discomfort. From the moment he was nominated, he has surrounded himself with ADA aides and advisers.

ADA members—who *are* ideologists—occupy key posts in the Administration, and have won their long-sought "access to the power of the Presidency." The appointees who come from business, law and practical politics are in most cases practical administrators who stick to the business at hand. But the ADAers are "idea men," with ideas cut to the ideological pattern that we have examined. Many of the ideas aired in the White House these days are ADA ideas; much of the intellectual atmosphere is formed by "ADAism."

JFK: *Uncomfortable?*

It is seldom possible to trace exact cause-and-effect patterns in such matters, but it is a fact that many of the government's actions, and even more of the measures proposed but not yet adopted, bear marks of ADA influence.

Thus, the ADA platform had stated at the beginning of 1962: "The Administration is in fundamental error in placing undue emphasis on the principle of a balanced budget." This has always been the ADA view. During 1962 President Kennedy's policy shifted to open advocacy of an unbalanced budget as an economic device. ADA long advocated "a broad-scale federal program to aid education"; this is today Administration policy. Demands always featured in ADA propaganda—such as abolition of the loyalty oath requirement for student grants; open "confrontation of the accuser" in government security inquiries (*i.e.*, exposure of confidential sources); court and executive action to compel reapportionment of state legislature districts; federally enforced anti-discrimination in housing—have been put into effect.

ADA has frequently expressed admiration for the British nationalized health plan. General Medicare financed through Social Security is long-time ADA doctrine. Today it has high priority in the Administration program. The proposal for a Department of Urban Affairs was an ADA plank before it was taken up by the White House. ADA influence is undoubtedly responsible for inclusion of distinctly left-wing "social and democratic reforms" in the Alliance for Progress program. In Congress, in 1962, ADA led a successful fight to block private enterprise from sharing in the development of the huge Hanford nuclear power project, as well as the fight to defeat proposals for stronger security measures in the defense industry.

With Sorenson and Schlesinger writing White House speeches, three ADA Assistant Secretaries of State and a strong ADA contingent in diplomacy, ADA views and formulations in foreign policy would seem to be inevitable, and have, indeed, been conspicuous.

A popular-front solution for Laos, with Western withdrawal, was advocated by ADA before the Administration embraced it. While pressing for force against rightist tyrannies, ADA has from the beginning opposed forceful actions against Castro. ADA people and thinking played a major, probably decisive, part in the Bay of Pigs shambles.

Increasing policy orientation on the UN (for instance, in relation to New Guinea, Goa, Katanga; in support of UN interventions in Angola, South Africa, Rhodesia) follows explicit items in ADA programs, as does formation of a special disarmament agency. Exploiting "areas of overlapping interest" with Red bloc nations; relying on "tides of history"; drawing Communist countries into a hoped-for "world community of free nations"; barring talk of Cold War "victory" or liberation of Communist-held peoples—the whole present rhetoric of coexistence is in the ADA mood.

The ADA ideology will continue to exert powerful pressures as long as a large number of its members hold key policy and advisory posts—pressures sufficient, possibly, to decide the direction in which our country is to travel. Many of these ADAers are men of knowledge, ability and high principle. But the ideology they live by, if carried far enough into practice, must promote statism and regimentation at home, and piecemeal surrender abroad.

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Obituary for Reluctant Mammals

AYLEEN McGARVEY

Someone writing a pamphlet in a windowless cubicle in Washington cannot tell you to live; neither can the President as he views the landscaped White House lawns. Such a decision is your treasure, hoarded diligently in a world where choice is woefully restricted, against the day when it is exercised in unrestrained glory.

Elinor Wylie once wrote a poem urging the reader to avoid the polluted flock and keep himself inviolate like the eagle of the rock. Taking into account the blunders in human aspirations, however, she went on to say that, if you wanted to keep your soul from spotted sight and sound but could not leap in the eagle's track, you could burrow underground like the velvet mole.

The poem has a majesty from which we retreat today, smirking. Possibly it has no application in a world where people are digging like moles in order to huddle together in lathered packs and not, as the author suggests, to hold intercourse with roots and stones and rivers at their source. The choice, for those who wish to prevail as individuals, has narrowed.

When the Worst Comes

It's a picture of horror, really—people grubbing underground like animals. But the worst will come with the sounding of the all-clear when the steaming herd leaps to the escape hatches and, energized by the vitamins recommended for daily consumption by shelter inhabitants, starts to rebuild a world where only the eagle had remained on his cliff, above the clouds. Again the ugly roads stretching endlessly to nowhere; the modulated churches, centers of social activity rather than spiritual renewal; the mortared backyard barbecues where nature is obliterated by the smell of the smoking flesh; the blankly modernistic schools turning out children in factory reproductions of each other and smaller replicas of their parents.

The staggering urgency of reconstruction will strangle the dissenting voices, little heeded as they are now. The protests of "I think you are all wrong!" and "That is not the way I want it" will be shouted down with "Slacker, slacker!" or "You are not carrying your load; we don't have time to talk about that now." And later, when Little League baseball reigns supreme in the land and the scientists are in their new laboratories, this time working on a foolproof method of human extermination, the voices will be silent, atrophied through disuse.

"We owe it to ourselves and our children to survive atomic warfare so that we can rebuild our culture and civilization after the world is laid waste." This is what the wise men tell us, but, in truth, what is there to preserve? A few artifacts from another time, perhaps, the philosophies of a different age, but the rebuilding of modern civilization does not automatically guarantee their preservation.

We set the pattern after the last world conflict. In our insane rush back to normality, we gained the specifics—homemade pie, Coke and long afternoons of sunny play with the children; but in the process forfeited the generalized, and never completely explained, ideals for which we fought.

Starting with the sloppy sentimentality of the image of the four chaplains disappearing beneath the waves hand in hand, we advanced to advertised pleas to go to church on Sunday (any church at all!) and, religion disposed of, it was no time at all before we were told by panting non-partisan committees that "it doesn't matter how you vote so long as you vote!" In an age when the choice is between personalities rather than beliefs, the first part, at least, is not a patent absurdity. Taken as a whole, however, it isn't even logical, since its alternative, not to vote at all, achieves the same result.

It is a small step from this to "Better Red than Dead," but the gap between these two and the earlier "Liberty or Death" cannot be measured by our shoddy standards.

One Small Prize

Today's desiccation obviates vigorous faith as well as inherited loyalty, and you are left an almost empty shell with only one small prize to guard. This cherished hoard is what we will lose in the coming chaos, and the pain of contemplating life without it is unbearable.

To quell our quivering neuroses, we are suckled with idealized versions of a two weeks' vacation underground, leisurely spent consuming uncontaminated food, playing the games recommended to combat shelter boredom, disposing of our wastes, and taking turns at the air pump because Everbody Must Do His Part. Then when the Conelrad all-clear sounds on the battery-powered radio, Daddy will drive off to work on a morning fairly sparkling with unpoisoned sunbeams, and Mommy and the children will schedule the first post-blast Cub Scout meeting.

In the telling of this fairy tale, we are given religious dispensation to kill our neighbors, but no one mentions that the opening of the escape hatches might disclose Russian bayonets pointing at our eyeballs. Blind optimism? Or a refusal to acknowledge that ideological values will have no significance in the nuclear-devastated world where everyone will be equal in slavery? Victor or conquered, you will be welded to a specialized role — your reconstruction task, and the leadership mould (for you have to have leaders, even the Soviets do) will turn out only one

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type, unmarred by the traditions and inner turmoils which form the individual.

The eggheads should be delighted —ward heeling as a profession will be abolished, getting out the vote will be unnecessary.

It is possible that the squandered generation which grew up in the dim and joyless years of the depression, and was plunged, newly graduated from high school, into the war, will not care. The swift passage of those important years between the termination of the war and today was, for most of them, a time for establishing families and careers. It was a time for grasping at the good things of life which they had, until then, been denied. Reminiscing is like compressing a life into the time it takes to sit in a darkened theater and watch a feature-length film: it had all been done before, and what was it all about? Their children will not care either. They have been tutored well: health and happiness are the lessons they have learned; also, the corollary axiom that everybody is not only equal but similar, too.

The Choice

But a choice must be made, and it is good, once more, to have a choice. It is not enough to say dogmatically, "Do not build a shelter" or "Do not survive atomic catastrophe." That is aping the government planners who shower you with frenzied leaflets and hair-raising press releases, or the Luce enterprises which specialize in weekly scare-shouts. It must be remembered that the choice is yours alone, and, when you make it, you must be confident of your reasons. If you determine on survival, know why, and what it is you want to preserve. In that way only is there some small hope.

Better Red than Dead; Liberty or Death.

Some have said that the former offers no true alternatives. Perhaps, however, it is the older phrase which is out of kilter in our world; perhaps only in death is man free at last. After all, the eagle sails above the storm and stares into the sun, while the mole only channels more deeply into the slime.

Religion

The New Encyclical: A Question of Perspective

WILL HERBERG

The encyclical *Pacem in Terris* is addressed not only to the hierarchy, clergy and faithful of the Roman Catholic Church, but to the whole world, to "all men of good will"; and the entire world has received it with warm acclaim. Protestant, Catholic and Jew; believer and unbeliever; East and West, Moscow and Washington, have joined in the applause. Of course, the encyclical has not yet been studied; but it is already being quoted and misquoted, interpreted and misinterpreted, applied and misapplied. There is no doubt that it is a high magisterial document in every sense of the term.

Herberg

I have read the encyclical three times (in the Vatican Press Office English translation); and I think I have read it with the care, deference and docility it deserves. And yet I confess that, even upon a third reading, I am left with a strange and uncomfortable feeling. My uneasiness derives not so much from disagreement on particular points; it derives, I should say, from uncertainty as to the bearing and direction of the encyclical and the ideas it puts forward. The document—or, perhaps more likely, my understanding of it—seems to me to suffer from a pervasive confusion of perspective. Principles are set forth which, in their *ultimate* bearing, indeed commend themselves to "all men of good will" for their truth and value; but then, immediately, these principles are made to apply—in a simple, unrefracted manner—to *short-range* problems of policy and program. The consequences, as Edmund Burke might have foreseen, turn out to be none of the happiest.

Perhaps I could make my difficulty with the encyclical somewhat more intelligible by illustrating it from the document itself, largely from those sections that deal with world affairs.

1. Under the heading "Characteristics of the Present [Age]," we are told that "our age has three distinctive characteristics. First of all, the working classes have gradually gained ground in economic and public affairs. . . . Secondly, it is obvious to everyone that women are now taking a part in public life. . . . Finally, . . . since all nations have either achieved, or are on their way to achieving, independence, there will soon no longer exist a world divided into nations that rule others and nations that are subject to others." There is no doubt that these are indeed among the characteristics of our time. But how is it possible to draw up a list of such characteristics and omit the twentieth-century upsurge of totalitarianism, which surely looms at least as large in our present urgencies and perplexities as, say, the fact that women are now taking a greater part in public life? For in modern totalitarianism, we have the appearance of a new kind of state—a state that can no longer be conceived of as a legitimate state; a state that claims total jurisdiction and control; a state that is not satisfied with just our bodies, but demands our souls as well; a state that, in its very nature, exalts itself as its own highest majesty, and usurps the place of God.

With this kind of state, embodied in German Nazism, we were locked in deadly conflict less than a generation ago; with this kind of state, embodied in Soviet-Chinese Communism, we are at this very moment fighting desperately in every quarter of the globe. And yet the emergence of this kind of state, or rather demonic *anti-state*, and its spread like a blight over the mid-twentieth-cen-

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tury world, are not even mentioned in the new encyclical, any more than they were in *Mater et Magistra*! The question arises: in what perspective is the present-day world seen, that such an omission becomes possible?

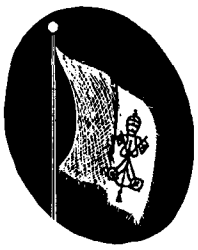
2. The encyclical rightly sees the modern nation as an historically conditioned form of community, and enthusiastically hails the emergence of supranational institutions and agencies in the modern world. It even looks forward to a "world political community" (not exactly a "world nation" or a "world state," as the excited newspaper headlines put it). The vision of the solidarity of all mankind is surely a notable one; but can this vision be converted into a policy and program quite so simply as the encyclical seems to do?

The universal common good, of which peace is, of course, a chief part, can no longer—we are told—be adequately promoted by work along the familiar diplomatic channels between nations. It needs a "[supranational] public authority, having world-wide power, and endowed with the proper means for the efficacious pursuit of its objective"; and we are urged to build up the United Nations, "in its structure and in its means," into this kind of world public authority. Can the Pope be speaking of the world we live in? Is it conceivable that a world public authority could be set up—and set up, mind you, "by common accord and not by force"—in a world locked in implacable struggle not over this or that limited aim, but over the very foundations of social life, over the ultimate issues of human society?

And the UN? Even Liberals have come to realize the impotence of the UN in any situation in which the Western powers and the Soviet bloc confront each other. Is this the UN that is to be advanced to a supranational authority sufficient to get Washington and Moscow to keep the peace? Looking at the matter a little more deeply, is there really any such thing as a "world community" on which to base a "world-wide public authority"? The "unity of the human family," to which the encyclical refers, is hardly enough to ensure it. Community among men grows not merely out of their common humanness, but out of a common history and a common historical destiny, out of common interests, a common culture, a common cause, and (let us be frank) a common enemy. Are any of those prerequisites for world community to be found today? The unity of mankind is a religious belief and a religious hope. But the twentieth-century world of the Cold War is hardly the messianic "end-time." Again, one wonders in what perspective the encyclical sees the problems of the contemporary world.

Is Disarmament Possible?

3. In the short-term world of the 1960's the problems of peace and disarmament take on a rather different aspect from that in which they are presented in the new encyclical. In the encyclical, the Roman Pontiff denounces the endless piling up of vast armaments as a monstrous evil; which it is. He indicts us before the court of our own conscience for having brought upon ourselves two world wars in one generation; and we must admit the justice of this indictment. He points to peace and fellowship among men of God's creative purpose for mankind; and of course he is right, a thousand times over. But can these words of prophetic reproof and guidance be easily translated into policy on arms, disarmament, nuclear warfare, and nuclear testing?



Is disarmament any sort of possibility today? I have found very few, even among those who want to press the matter hardest, who really think so. Even a ban, or moratorium, on nuclear testing has for years proved impossible of negotiation.

Let us face the facts. The free world and the Communist bloc are at present engaged, and have been engaged for fifteen years, in an undeclared but very real war over issues that are not negotiable. Truces, under varying formulas, there may be; but peace, genuine peace, is quite out of reach. As the last Pope, Pius XII, was wont to point out, no peace in today's world is possible unless and until "all oppression and all arbitrary action from within and without" are eliminated. And, if no peace, how disarmament? Yet everyone talks of disarmament, Mr. Khrushchev above all. In fact, talking about disarmament has developed into a not unimportant bit of Cold War strategy. This, I should imagine, is too obvious to need elaboration.

Pope John surely understands all this very well. And yet the encyclical reads as though disarmament, nuclear disarmament, were hardly more than a matter of good will and patient negotiation. The highly complex problem of disarmament is dealt with as though it were a simple corollary of the principle of peace. But it isn't! Between the principle and the policy there is the distorting and refracting medium of the actual world situation. The two perspectives must not be blurred.

Why this curious confusion of perspective in the encyclical? Why the silence on Communist totalitarianism? Why the unrealism about world political community, peace and disarmament? There are those who lay it all to some new twist in Vatican diplomacy, which they applaud or deplore. Perhaps there is something to these conjectures, though I hesitate to believe it. To me, it seems rather that the Pope's thinking is of a piece with his character as a man and as a Pontiff. Pope John is a man of great simplicity of spirit, a man of the deepest Christian idealism. He sees himself, if we may presume to guess, as the Pope of Peace and Unity. The vision of peace and unity possesses him; and a generous vision it is. But it is a vision of *ultimates*; it looks beyond, perhaps overlooks, the nearer world of *immediates*. But we, on our part, must live in both.

By way of postscript: It is natural that many conservatives, particularly conservative Catholics, should be perturbed at what they take to be the "line" of the new encyclical. But let them remember that the Pope who speaks through the encyclical is the same Pope who, four years ago, admonished us: "It needs still to be noted that the peace which the Church prays for cannot possibly be achieved if it is mistaken for a yielding or relaxation of its firmness in the face of ideologies and systems of life which are in open and irreconcilable opposition to Catholic teaching." (*Ad Petri Cathedram*, 1959.)

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

College Colloquies

Cheerfulness, I do repeat, will keep breaking in. Despite all my melancholy vaticinations concerning the state of the higher learning in America, into even my life some ray of sunshine must fall: now and then, believe it or not, I find something heartening in our colleges and universities. One such good omen is the present vogue for the student - organized symposium or colloquium.

Kirk

About five years ago, these speechifying affairs—lasting, most of them, three or four days—began to spring up on the American campus. Some knot of earnest students, subsidized modestly by student-activity funds or little foundation grants, proceeded to invite three or four or five well-known adults to argue before whatever students might be interested—and to exchange opinions with the students. Yale and Princeton were among the first universities to embrace such notions. Now the colloquium concept has caught on; and I suppose that fifty or sixty campuses, if not more, enjoy an annual student-organized week end (sometimes a whole week) of discussing fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute (or, more commonly, current political proposals) with well-known writers, scholars, politicians, labor leaders, businessmen, and freaks.

Sometimes members of the faculty at the colleges involved are vaguely resentful of the popularity of these sessions: for they are both more lively and better attended, on the whole, than faculty-directed symposia. Either out of mischief or naiveté, sometimes the students invite guests whose only eminence has been that of scandal: Adam Clayton Powell, Jimmy Hoffa, Mohammed X, some Communist or other burning ideologue. But for the most part, the distinguished guests really are gentry of some parts. Somehow I have got into going the rounds of these affairs with Norman Thomas, Eugene McCarthy, Hubert Humphrey, Carey McWilliams Jr., Carey McWilliams Sr., Paul Goodman, Clifford Case, and Lord knows who all.

It will be gathered from the above roster that the temper of most of these colloquiums is not precisely conservative. In part, this is because the students who organize such affairs—or many of them—desire to stir things up at their college, and so summon in Liberal movers and shakers. In part, one conceivably may discern the hand of professorial guidance at this campus or that. But it does not follow that these conferences end in radical dogmatism. On the contrary, I find that my conservative views get a friendly hearing, if only because they seem so utterly novel on many a campus; and also not every radical ideologue, seen in the flesh, is so lively or pleasant as his prose. At one venerable college, the girls told me that I was the only conservative they ever had heard—or heard of. Thus do I bore from within.

On the Circuit

In the past month I participated in four such student-run conferences: at the Universities of Minnesota, Texas, Massachusetts, and Randolph-Macon Women's College. Hearken to my tale.

First, at Minneapolis I had a part in the Symposium of the Student Association, which this year was concerned with "Ethics in Our Time." Some 1,700 people, mostly undergraduates, turned out for a debate (of sorts) between Mr. Carey McWilliams (of the *Nation*) and your servant, on ethics in American society. Mr. McWilliams and I agreed on this: that a good man is hard to find. Among other speakers, on other days, were Harold Taylor, Nicholas Nyaradi, Ralph Lapp, Edgar Snow.

Second, at Austin I was invited by "Challenge"—a discussion group organized under the same name on several big campuses. Our big topic was "Individualism in the Twentieth Century," and I talked about "Prescription, Authority, and Ordered Freedom." My principal colleagues were Paul Goodman, the lively communitarian anarchist; and Upton Sinclair (rather charmingly like the Ghost of Christmas Past), still fervent.

Third, at Amherst I was part and parcel of the Distinguished Visitors Program, there student-directed. Six guests, among them Senators Proxmire and Clifford Case, talked about "Federal Aid to Education." Five of the guests, plus the moderator, favored much federal subsidy. One guest opposed these nefarious schemes. Guess who.

Fourth, at Lynchburg, in Ole Virginny, I swam sultan-like through a delicious throng of Randolph-Macon girls, muttering sweet nothings about "The Image of America." A good many Princeton gentlemen and others from the Virginian universities and colleges came for the three days. A United Nations representative, a State Department man, Senator Proxmire (yes, again), James B. Carey of the Electrical Workers, and several others talked about what we liked. I argued that we Americans ought to regard not the image, but the reality.

If you think, gentle reader, that this sounds like fun—why, it is. But also the students are in earnest. They work hard, and they turn out big crowds, and usually they ask good questions.

Dullness is the chief affliction of our colleges. Courses are too numerous and routine; professors trudge in ruts. Credit-accumulation and sociability drive out the love of learning. And I know only a few college administrators who do aught to remedy this boredom—or even recognize the existence of the problem. But these symposium students actually demand something for the mind. They learn rapidly from such colloquies. And they may even wake up some of their professors. I do embrace them.

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Won't You Come into My Parlor?

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Years ago, as it now seems, a young man from Yale, knowing that I had a good opinion of some of his casual journalism, sent me a book manuscript to read. Full of admiration for its nerve, verve and charm, I offered to write an introduction to it. Though I cannot boast that I was Bill Buckley's discoverer (manifestly he discovered himself), I can preen myself on being one of the first Buckley-before-NATIONAL REVIEW men. I knew, on the basis of the internal evidence of *God and Man at Yale,* that Bill Buckley would exhibit long-term staying power.

My feeling back around 1952 and 1953, however, was that Bill would be compelled by the entrenched position of his chosen enemies to lead a life of forays conducted from the outermost margin of disputatious events. In this I couldn't have been more wrong. Somehow Bill has charmed his adversaries into letting him take them on in face-to-face combat right at the center of the stage. I have often marvelled at the willingness of any embattled leftist to come within miles of Mr. Buckley. He has the deceptiveness that goes with a natural disposition to be friendly to any and all of God's creatures until they have proved themselves false to their Maker. Thus, in his *Rumbles Left and Right*, he credits Richard Rovere with the ability to be elegant in his spoofing. He admits the subtlety and scholarliness of Herbert Matthews. He accepts Norman Mailer as some-

Rumbles Left and Right, by William F. Buckley Jr. Putnam, $4.95

one with whom he can have "coexistence and cultural exchanges" for years to come. He professes admiration for the "excellence" of Kenneth Tynan's dramatic criticism. He pays tribute to the "sensitive" quality of Henry Luce's journalistic ear. He thinks that Edmund Burke would have been tolerant of Dr. Robert Hutchins, and who is Bill Buckley to be less tolerant than Burke? He can spend a whole fortnight in contemplation of Murray Kempton's style and ability to express more in a sentence than any living academic sociologist can express in a 500-page book.

Nor is it merely that Mr. Buckley is a consummate master at softening an opponent up by beginning a dialogue (that word again!) with an earned amenity. What makes him really dangerous is that even the most unreasonable of men (and in recent years we have had some darbs) must admit that Bill Buckley is reasonable. Who, indeed, can find a proper excuse to refuse debate with a reasonable adversary? Not Murray Kempton. Not the Rovere boy. Not even Jack Paar, who kidded himself that he could make Bill appear inhumane and failed.

So, one and all, they have come into the ring with Mr. Buckley only to discover that they were up against an adversary who could muster more effective combinations than Sugar Ray Robinson at the height of his pugilistic career. First, the amenity. Then another amenity. And then a bewildering salvo of light and hard blows.

Mr. Buckley can be charming because he is at peace, not with the world, but with himself. He cares more for truth than for a career as truth-teller. He has no latent bitterness to goad him into intemperate statements. If he were a politician, he would be one of those rare ones who are able to relinquish office without letting it disturb a penchant for personal gaiety. There is a sense of priorities in Mr. Buckley's convictions. On a fundamental issue he fights to the last ounce of his strength. But if it is a matter of some of the side issues of conservative politics, such as opposition to the compulsory fluoridization of city water, or fighting the application of the "Metro" government principle to the traffic departments of Greater Miami in Florida, or opposing the establishment of a mental hospital in Alaska, he doffs his hat to them. True, he would be entirely willing to agree that, in principle, people should be allowed to care for their own teeth rather than be compelled to drink water that may offend them. But as long as there are far more dangerous dragons to slay than the champions of fluorides in the reservoir, Mr. Buckley does not permit himself to be deflected. Castro is a greater menace to Miami than Metro government. And Soviet overflights in the Alaska regions take precedence over a mental hospital that might possibly be used as a Siberia.

Since he is at peace with himself and not given to the practice of humorless concentration on side issues, Mr. Buckley's adversaries don't know how to pierce his aplomb. Some of them denounce him as a reactionary, of course. But how do you make a denunciation stick when a man is willing to let an ideological enemy appear only just slightly less witty than himself? How can Mr. Rovere's partisans be fired up against Mr. Buckley when he says that "Rovere is fun to read, easy to read, interesting to read. But he needs to watch out. *The New Yorker* encourages good literary needlework; but Rovere has always fancied himself *l'homme engagé*." Not a word here in derogation of Mr. Rovere. Only the suggestion, hauntingly planted, that a man of Rovere's natural abilities might be doing something more important than making himself fun to read. Mr. Buckley's handling of Rovere is better than judo. Again, Mr. Buckley is willing to concede

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that Senator Hubert Humphrey's crack about Barry Goldwater ("You ought to be in the movies. In fact, I've made just that proposal to 18th Century-Fox") is pretty good. The Left can hardly claim that Buckley is unfair to Hubert. But the Humphrey wit, which is mere cleverness, shows up as slightly routine when Buckley goes on to quote Goldwater's own combination of wit and passion. "Goldwater will end up in a pine box," said Moscow's *Pravda*. This prophecy enables Mr. Buckley to recall Goldwater's reply: "If Communism took over the world that's just where I'd want to be."

It's just where Mr. Buckley would want to be, too. So, when Kenneth Tynan or Edward Bennett Williams or Herbert Matthews or Norman Mailer, each in his infinite capacity for frivolous self-deception, does something to encourage *Pravda* into thinking that the "final struggle" is practically here, Mr. Buckley follows his opening amenity with some really crushing eloquence. For myself, I marvel that Matthews and Mailer and Tynan have been able to resist him. I confidently expect to open the pages of NATIONAL REVIEW some day and find that all of them have become his most fervent converts and most valued anti-Communist contributors.

If Mr. Buckley would rather be in a pine box than live in a Communist world, it does not follow that he really likes the political pricking and slugging of anti-Communist battle for its own sake. He would vastly prefer to spend his time skiing and sailing and looking at Buddhist shrines in Japan. Beyond this, he would prefer to spend his energies doing things for friends. His gift for friendship is apparent between all the lines of his evocation of the last years of Whittaker Chambers. Chambers had his own gift for friendship and Mr. Buckley recalls this in a way that makes you cry.

Like Hilaire Belloc, Mr. Buckley can be the most formidable of adversaries because his convictions and rhetoric both stem from the same Christian documents. They match. But in Belloc's other manner he can be just as eloquent in praise of such wholly unpolitical things as wine, conversation, Bermuda races and the mysterious humor that bubbled up in Whittaker Chambers even in the midst of gloom.

Random Notes

● PRIZES: Ezra Jack Keats—a name to conjure with—has been awarded the Caldecott Medal for the most distinguished picture book of 1962, *The Snowy Day*. He is also the illustrator of the recently published *Tia Maria's Garden* by Ann Nolan Clark (Viking, $3). Both are children's books.

● MOVIES: *Adventures of the goddess Aphrodite in two current incarnations:* A Bardot Museum, or grove in a high place, is soon to open to the devout in Paris, containing memorabilia of every conceivable sort. And La Taylor has parked her asp and can be seen (Hy Gardner our witness) going to and fro in London in a "two-tone Rolls Royce with a television in it." Her paycheck is a whopping $28,000 a day for laboring with Richard Burton and Orson Welles in a picture called either *The V.I.P.'s* or *International Hotel*, nobody knows which.

The German *Threepenny Opera* (filmed in both English and German versions), a cinemascope extraordinary, has opened in Munich. At the last minute Sammy Davis Jr. was cast as Mr. Wonderful, the organ-grinder, and thus gets to sing "Mack the Knife." . . . 20th Century-Fox announces an impressive shooting schedule: Sylvia Ashton-Warner's *Incense to Idols*, set in New Zealand; Giuseppe di Lampedusa's *The Leopard* (with Claudia Cardinale and Burt Lancaster), and Richard Hughes' *High Wind in Jamaica*. Also—and We Thought So—Irving Stone's *The Agony and the Ecstasy*, described as "the fascinating story of Michelangelo and his conflict with Pope Julius II," Friedrich Durrenmatt's *The Visit*, starring Ingrid Bergman and Anthony Quinn, Lawrence Durrell's *Justine* and H. Trevor-Roper's *Last Days of Hitler*.

Mr. Roberts is to have a sequel, *Ensign Pulver*, Warner Bros. announces, but does not say if Jack Lemmon is to play him. . . . Gary Knafec, the 6′ 4″, 220 lb. end for the Green Bay Packers, has become a movie star and announces that he is hereafter to be known as Gary Kincaid. Snazzy.

● INCIDENTAL: Lists are eloquent things. *Publishers' Weekly* achieves a masterpiece in the art of sinking by innocently listing books published on April 18: Dean Smith's *Conservatism*, Milton Viorst's *Liberalism* and Mini Rhea's *I Was Jacqueline Kennedy's Dressmaker*.

● BOOKS: When Georges Simenon, the creator of Maigret, learned in 1941 that he had about two years to live, he began an autobiography. André Gide suggested that it be recast as a novel, and *Pedigree* is the result, published by London House and Maxwell ($4.95). . . . Josef Albers, the painter and one of the last of the Bauhaus faculty still around and working, has completed a major study of color, published by Yale ($200) in 81 folders, with 80 pages of text, and all in a box. *Interaction of Color* it's called. . . . The Larousse In-Quarto Series announces two more volumes of its copiously illustrated studies: *Mythologies de la Méditerranée au Gange* and *Mythologies des steppes, des forêts et des îles*.

It seems that Carl Jung left an autobiography, of sorts. Partly written by himself and partly transcribed from long interviews by Aniela Jaffé, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections* (Pantheon, $7.50) is a book about Jung's thought rather than his life. . . . Frederick Warne & Co. announce a complete set of all Beatrix Potter's books ($28.75) in their original format.

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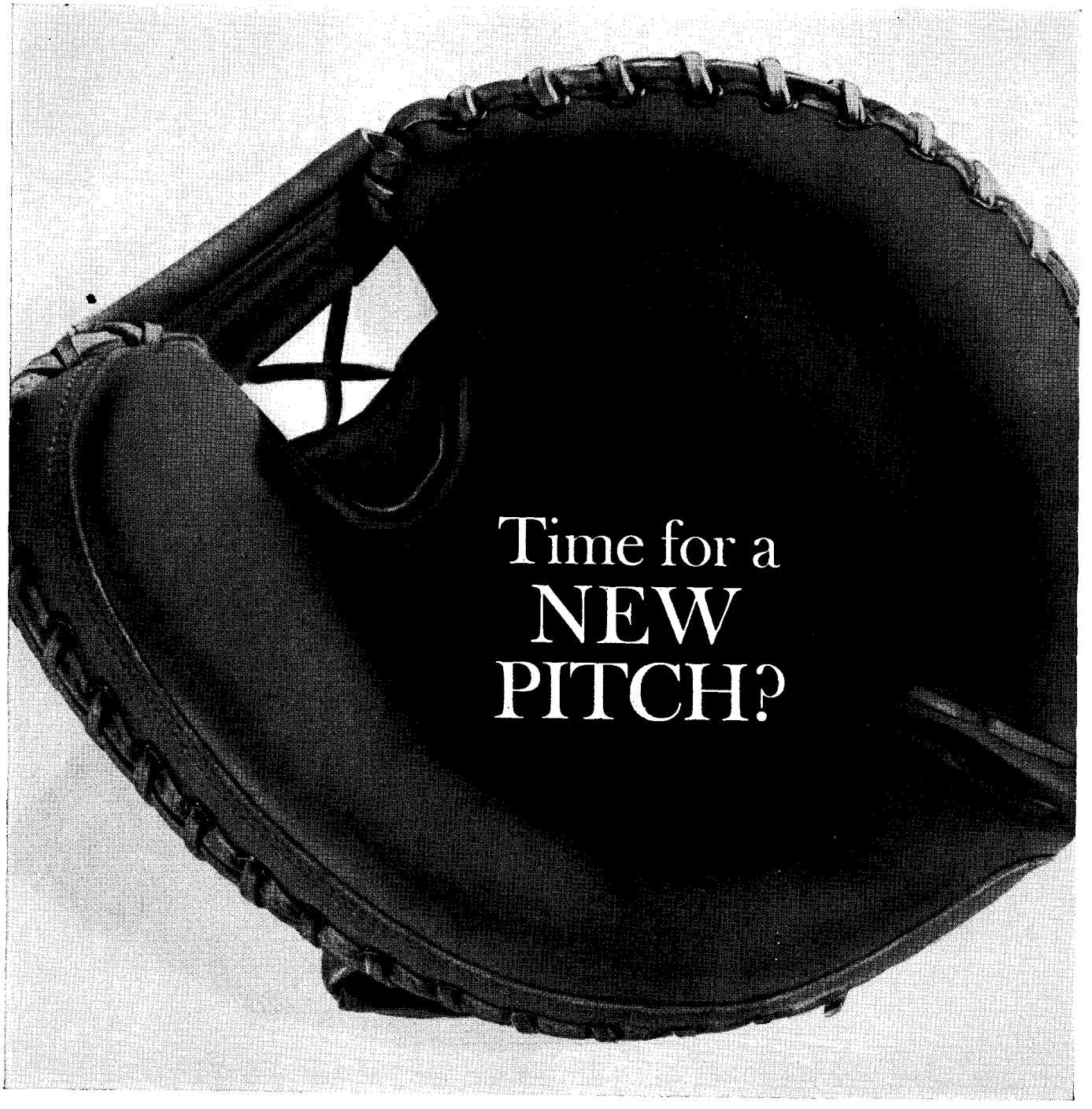

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Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.'s article on South Africa was one of the most talked-about articles we've ever published. Buckley's obituary for Mrs. Roosevelt stirred quite a controversy too.

"Crossroads for the GOP," by Publisher William A. Rusher, promises to be the most widely reprinted article we've carried. It's hard to keep up with the demand.

Then there was Steve Allen's article. Lots of mail on that one. Even *more* response to "Psychiatry's Threat to Civil Liberties," by Dr. Thomas Szasz; and we're getting mail from Stockholm now because of Desmond Fennell's "Stagnation in Sweden."

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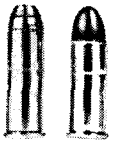

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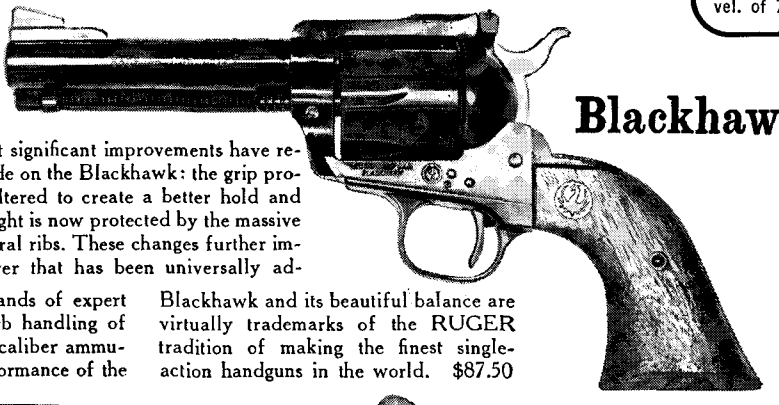

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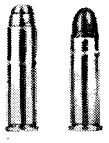

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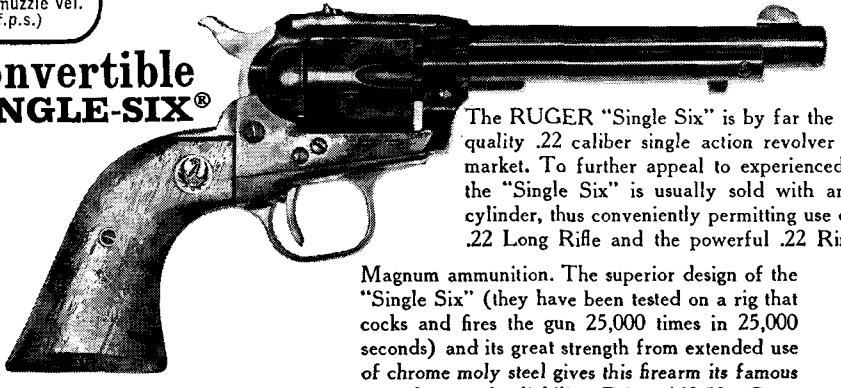

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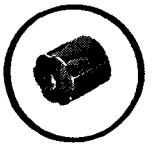

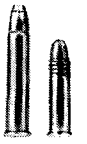

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Fiction

Midas' Grandchildren

GUY DAVENPORT

Academic room. Books, freshman compositions, learned journals, the manuscript of a poem fungoid with emendations. The scholar, a Talmudist's curve in his shoulders, fresh from a classroom of Jünglinger *brought up on Marx, Freud, and Spock, where he talked to himself about the morphology of the novel from Richardson to George Eliot (with a toothsome digression on Cumberland's* Henry*) also reviews fiction. The finished novel, which he has enjoyed (but as an incurable reader of novels, mind you) lies in his lap. His ear twitches with the annoyance of indecision. Several graduate schools have taught him the significance of great fiction but he had discovered novels for himself before he knew that professors bejeweled this earth, in spite of his grandmother's opinion that reading softens the brain. Reader and critic is he both, but inharmoniously. The two daimons converse.*

READER: Let us keep this one to ourselves and review something that allows of symmetrical generalizations. We shall do a piece on Miss Didion's second novel when it appears. Comparisons are engaging.

CRITIC: There is Samuel Johnson's pronouncement on the bounden duty of lawyers to clients. Boswell was saying that a lawyer can't be too careful in his choice of cases when Johnson trounced him. A lawyer exists to defend. He must do his best with every case that falls his way. Something of that unembarrassed and unequivocal moral dictum haunts the reviewer.

READER: Who isn't an advocate? First novels are the occasion of hope and prophecy. A new talent must be assessed, pigeonholed, labeled. Miss Didion writes superbly; her prose is her servant; she has an uncommon grasp of place and character. All is suavely understated, preventing melodrama, the pretense of epic dimensions, and tedious symbolism. The novel is reasonable and true. The landed gentry in California are like that. Yet—

CRITIC: A big *yet* indeed. What I, what *we*, really want to say is that the book is too even, too smooth. It sticks to its business with the determined regularity of minor art. All humor, all irony have been pared away. And where is invention? Must realism with all its sincerity be so flat? The English novel is eccentric, irregular, at once pathetic and ridiculous. Miss Didion has polished her prose too well for her own good. She should have put in some touches with her left hand, or attempted some little impossibilities here and there, so that we could appreciate the smudges.

READER: My, my! You want the book to be what it isn't. Its excellence is *within* the design, not the design itself. The plot is sparse: adultery, revenge, the closing off of the possibilities of life. These people's great grandfathers crossed a continent, built a culture still admired for its enterprise and gaudiness, and now they are merely rich. No books, no conversation. San Francisco had, and has, something—there was a Matisse there by 1906, beating New York by seven years—but the ranches are barren. Inspecting crops which you don't need to grow is scarcely being a pioneer. Channing, the seducer, is curiously nineteenth-century, a last venturer in exploitation.

CRITIC: What do you make of the underwater lights? The book opens and closes with them—a flashlight under water, dropped by the murdered Channing, and a swimming pool lit from within. And in the center of the book we have the submerged automobile, headlights still shining, in which Lily's father drowned. Why drown so many lights?

READER: Why lecture us? Any imaginative statement is full of drowned lights and such. There's the river of the title. Everything happens beside it or in it: murder, fornication, suicide. The pioneers crossed rivers; these effete descendants have no more to cross, so they live beside one, throwing themselves and their goods in it. At least it moves. That illuminated swimming pool is the novelist's final symbol of stagnation, I suppose.

CRITIC: Tragedy or mere irony? Or simple complaint? The East is worse, we are told. At one moment in the story the Pacific is besieged by Japs, the East by that wiseacre Liberal guff that drives the old guard Californian crazy. Wetbacks to the south; nothing to the north.

READER: And nothing inside. California is an irrigated waste land. I wish the novelist said why. What's at stake, love, family, honor, isn't as interesting as some vaguer quality symbolized by the river: some concept of containing and flowing. Is it the running out of tradition that grieves Miss Didion? The heritage of California is gold plus the mind of Jefferson's executor, Thomas Hart Benton, as it existed in Fremont and his wife Jessie, Benton's daughter. She keeps mentioning them. Perhaps only the gold remains.

CRITIC That would be too easy a point, and an evasion besides. The novel is about misplaced love, in both senses: lost and perversely misdirected. Love, we are shown, comes to these people in the form of wild oats. Marriage is one of the available pageants, so they get that far; that is, from impulse to its ceremonial form. Then they don't know what to do. So they fall back into adolescence, right up until grey hair and senility. Does not the book open with a woman oiling her breasts with perfume and locating grey hairs in the mirror?

READER: Yes, but it ends with that same woman saying to a corpse all the loving things she's failed to say in time. She doesn't say anything to her dead seducer. Only to the dead husband.

CRITIC: I don't fail to recognize the novelist's insights. Nor her power to show us all these matters of the heart. But what do they mean? The details of a pattern are organized and organization is a principle. What's that principle?

READER: There you go again, looking for a lecturer's phrase. Next you'll be systematizing the names (Ryder, Knight, Lily) and noting that the last word of the book is *wish*. A novel, let into the mind, or the imagination I perhaps should say, must stick around there awhile. The important matters will make themselves felt. A novel interprets itself.

CRITIC: I wish I knew what those underwater lights mean.

Run River, by Joan Didion. Obolensky, $4.50

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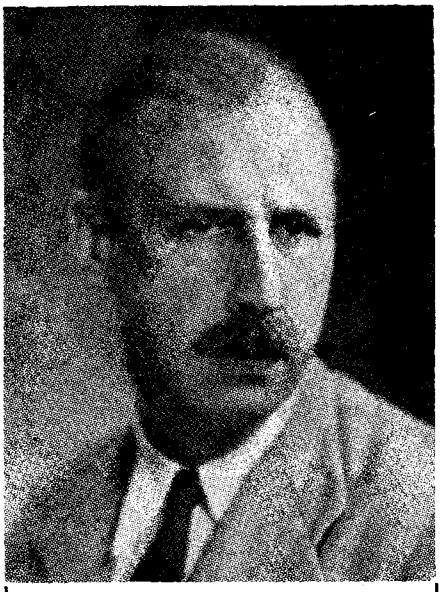

Speaking Up . . .

Erik Ritter von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, regular columnist for National Review, author and humanist, is one of those rare speakers who are conversant on almost any subject.

A native of Austria, Mr. Leddihn has traveled to more than fifty countries, not including the United States and Europe, and has taught both History and Sociology in top colleges and universities in America and England. He is fluent in more than ten languages and has written for many conservative journals in Europe and America.

His lecture topics include *America-Europe: The Great Misunderstanding*, *Neo-Conservatism and Neo-Liberalism*, *Spain Today*, *Political Problems of Asia*, *The African Turmoil (From Capetown to Casablanca)*, *Colonialism—Myth and Reality*, and *Christian Freedom, Performance and Promise*, which is also the title of his latest book.

Mr. Leddihn will be in the country again in the fall. He will be in the East in October, the Midwest and South the first half of November and the West Coast the last half of November. If your university or club would like to hear Mr. Leddihn, won't you write?

You may also want to write for openings in the schedules of our other speakers: L. Brent Bozell, Willmoore Kendall, Miguel Kohly, Frank S. Meyer, Thomas Molnar, Russell Kirk, William Rickenbacker, Ernest van den Haag, and William A. Rusher.

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You Can Wait for the Movie

WILLIAM J. FITZPATRICK

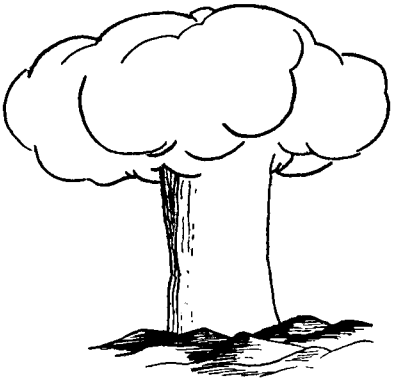
ALTHOUGH the holocaust phase of World War III may be some way in the future, the bombardment of books describing it has already commenced. The dreary catalogue of *On the Beach* and the specious politi-

The Shore Dimly Seen, by Robert Goldston. Random, $3.95

Triumph, by Philip Wylie. Doubleday, $4.50

cal topicality of *Fail-Safe* have established the precedents for other best-selling fantasies. We ought probably to be grateful, then, that the next offerings on the nuclear book mart are relatively free of misleading political propaganda.

Robert Goldston has accepted our radical ignorance of the course of atomic war in the coming decades and limited his postulates to the mere likelihood that war has broken out. He foregoes tiresome descriptions of vast atomic destruction to concentrate on a group—passengers and crew on a tycoon's yacht, the radio of which is not working—who suspect that theirs is a journey to a ruined, radiation-locked country. The action is all in the response of the characters to the putative catastrophe, in the way the personality of each—the missile magnate, his vaguely leftist doctor, a guilt-ridden missile engineer, a writer who has lost his craft, their wives—is crystallized in the intense doubt and overwhelming fear which pervade the ship as it moves across the Atlantic from Vigo to Baltimore.



The real interest has nothing to do with the simple-minded, pacifistic arguments of some of his characters—still less with the environment of atomic war; that environment is vague and remote. The interest is what it always is in the novel—even in competent, superficial entertainments like this one. Each of the passengers emerges from the first confusion to adopt a characteristic mode of action, to reach some kind of acceptance—of responsibility, of self-knowledge, or self-assertion. The question the dust jacket crudely asks (Would you *really* rather be dead than Red?) is essentially irrelevant to the novel. In the end, with the Virginia shore approaching and the state of America still unknown, all the action is complete, without even the turbulence of curiosity troubling the settled resolution of the group. But though the book rises above the tricks of the nuclear novel, there is not enough substantial content for you not to wait for the movie.

IN HIS STORY of the fourteen survivors of the enemy's attack on the United States, Wylie's emphasis is almost entirely on the gadgetry of survival. He postulates the conditions of atomic war in order to watch his little group pass two years developing the riches of a hyper-tycoon's luxury shelter. The characters are defined by their strange environment. We cannot separate them from their gadgets, their scientific knowledge, their holocaust. Their world offers the monotonous ingenuity of an atomic-age Swiss Family Robinson, who have stocked their electronic gear and mining equipment ahead of time. When they are not inventing new gadgets and diversions (inside a limestone mountain in Connecticut), they watch the dull television spectaculars of atomic devastation (for too many pages) as broadcast by the unirradiated Southern Hemisphere. The activities of this only group of survivors alternate with the playing out of the sequence of the war to the utter annihilation of all the combatants.

Though this tedium is inferior to Goldston's story, Wylie's political comment is more sensible than the pacifistic speeches Goldston allows

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his characters. Wylie blames the enemy for initiating the attack. And if the *post factum* destruction of the enemy does not save a surviving American society, it does save the remaining half of the world from Communist domination. He further implies that America's retreats actually made the atomic war inevitable.

Neither of these books really touches World War III, and the first only begins to be a serious novel. For a fable with the political plausibility to match the current war in the sense in which it is being fought now, we shall have to turn back to Constantine FitzGibbon's *When the Kissing Had To Stop*. For the rest, we should remember that politics and history get into the novel only through the concrete particularity of familiar human behavior; we need shelters against the fall-out of gimmick literature which rains down on us.

The Economics of Development

COLIN CLARK

THE REVIEWER has met, from time to time, men who could be described as saintly characters. One somehow does not think of the possibility of meeting saintly economists. Pigou, in his singlemindedness and simplicity, might have qualified for this title; and also Professor Tinbergen. Of outstanding character and charm, brought up in the strictest traditions of Dutch Calvinism, living a most austere and abstemious life, a pioneer in the application of mathematical models to the analysis of business fluctuations in the United States (on which issue he was violently attacked by Keynes), Professor Tinbergen was called to fill the most important economic post in his country's administration in the time of famine and chaos which followed the German retreat in 1945.

He performed his duties with great prudence and rectitude. Once, when the labor unions were expecting a substantial wage increase, and Professor Tinbergen's calculations showed that this was not practicable, "You go and explain that to them, Tinbergen," said the Prime Minister. "They will trust you, when they won't trust me." But having no ambition to become a political leader, and with the poverty of the backward countries very much on his conscience, he resigned his post in order to become a director of a private research institute largely devoted to studies of their needs, which are the subject of his recent book, *Shaping the World Economy*.

A subject of this scope calls for much judgment on politics as well as economics, and here, unfortunately, the book is disappointing. Principles which apply among an upright and hardworking people like the Dutch may not be so readily applicable to the whole world. To pool all forms of assistance in a "World Income Tax," with half to three-quarters of all the assessment falling on the United States, does not seem to be a good idea. Much though one sympathizes with coffee and cocoa producers faced by uncertain and falling prices, we cannot offer to cure their plight by means of "World Commodity Agreements," without drastic restrictions on production, which would be a greater evil still. That "the uncommitted countries must take the leadership of the world" is a dogma which is now wearing thin, even in India.

But the book has many good points too. For example, it ill becomes the United States and Britain to preach free enterprise industrialization to the Asian countries, and then to impose restrictions on their textiles as soon as they appear on their markets. The poverty of Asia and Africa cannot be blamed upon "colonialism";

Shaping the World Economy, by Jan Tinbergen. Twentieth Century Fund, $4.00

Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective, by Alexander Gerschenkron. Harvard, $8.75

Foreign Trade and the National Economy, by Charles P. Kindleberger. Yale, $6.00

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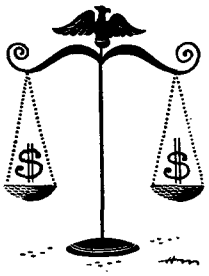
the long-independent countries of Siam, Ethiopia and Liberia are no better off than their neighbors, Malaya, Kenya and Nigeria.

Concise special reports on particular regions, prepared by Professor Tinbergen's Dutch collaborators, are well worth reading, and full of shrewd and salty comment. In Africa, writes Dr. Hartog, "the possibility of corruption has greatly increased in the last few years with the large amounts of money made available from abroad." In Latin America, writes Dr. van Olst, government employees could be reduced by three-quarters, if the remainder were properly paid, and at the same time required to work regular hours. (It is customary to put all the relatives of each new President and Minister on the government payroll, but never to remove the old ones.) One Latin American country has already established and subsequently liquidated three economic planning bureaus, regarding each one as a means of attracting fresh funds from abroad.

PROFESSOR GERSCHENKRON, who teaches economic history at Harvard, while strongly critical of Soviet Russia, nevertheless teaches (as did Schumpeter, and as appears to be widely believed at Harvard) that Marx had "brilliant intuition," and made "one of the most imaginative contributions to economic history."



Among the essays in this collection are interesting and detailed explorations of the early industrialization of Bulgaria and Italy. Here he enters the field of the politician-historian, Walter Rostow, whose doctrine of "the take-off," followed by various determinate stages of economic evolution, down to the final stage of "mass consumption"—though hailed by the London *Economist* as an "anti-Communist manifesto"—must be regarded, in Professor Gerschenkron's opinion (and in this reviewer's), as at best a quarter-truth, a theory which has had far too many facts forced to fit it. Even the prototype, the supposed rapid industrialization of England in the closing decades of the eighteenth century, was in fact, as Professor Nef of Chicago has shown, a slow process beginning in the sixteenth century, with some acceleration in the later period.

Professor Gerschenkron has searched for illuminating scraps of statistical information in the officially-sponsored Soviet fiction and confirms what other sources have indicated, namely that Soviet industrial managers are becoming more independent of the central planning authorities, are able to "deceive" them more successfully about output and stocks, as productive processes become more complex; and that a "market" among the managers is developing, although nominally illegal, "within the narrow area bounded by their personal connections and acquaintances," as among medieval merchants. While these somewhat reluctant moves back toward a market economy are taking place, the Soviet authorities continue to proclaim that it is a "law of economic development" that economic growth is impossible unless the output of capital goods rises faster than the output of consumption goods. It is time that economists began to point out the extraordinary waste and under-utilization of capital which the application of this principle has already caused in Soviet Russia. But there is more to it than that. Such a policy provides a despotic government with "a justification for its existence . . . satisfies its need for dynamism." George Orwell's characters in *1984* thought the same way; if once they allowed consumption goods to become abundant, their system of government would break down.

It is very rare to find a book on economics (still rarer, one written as a university textbook) which is not only valuable, but also witty and interesting throughout. Professor Kindleberger's book abounds in pungent and sparkling illustrations, ranging over the whole field of the present-day world and of nineteenth-century history, of the principles and problems of international trade. Marx's Labor Theory of Value (it is true that some sort of Labor Theory of Value had been stated previously by Adam Smith and Ricardo, but we may excuse them on grounds of inadequate knowledge at that time), the intellectual foundation of Communism, is not condoned, but directly attacked, when Professor Kindleberger reveals the chaos which results when the Communist countries attempt to or-

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ganize trade among themselves on the basis of this theorem.

Professor Kindleberger has a keen eye for the politics of protectionism. The ending of French isolationism and protectionism in the 1950's has been accompanied by profound social changes: by a great increase in energy and enterprise in place of the old preoccupation with security, by a restoration of population growth, and by the ability to develop many important technical innovations (prestressed concrete, two-horse power cars, twenty-five-thousand-volt electric locomotives, civil and military aircraft) ahead of the rest of the world.

The reviewer would suggest two further points to Professor Kindleberger on the theory of international trade. He debates at some length whether, in the long run, international trade must represent a declining proportion of national product, as the latter expands. The reviewer believes this to be the case, with imports rising at about the three-fourths power of national product. Professor Kindleberger has also missed the important work of Monsieur Carré, who, though he has seriously overstated his case, has shown that, other things being equal, countries gain, the more manufactures they can import; because these imports provide them with a "phantom labor force," thereby making more specialization possible.

The Passing Scene

Letter From a Dusty Graustark

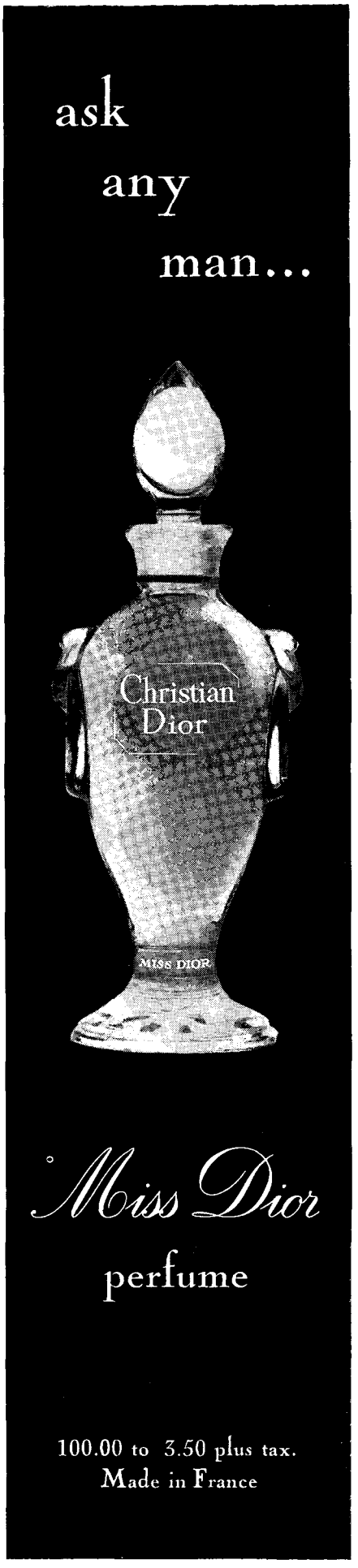
ALGERNON HOGG

I SUPPOSE THAT the hop from Saigon to Vientiane, with its overtones of such vintage Waugh as *Scoop* and *Black Mischief*, should have prepared me for Laos. My plane was a rather shopworn Dakota which, though advertised as a passenger aircraft, had a supply of cargo packed in the after cabin. A flock of cackling chickens and a poorly hobbled pig had the run of the aisles. It was the pig who finally unnerved the beautiful Laotian woman sitting next to me. She was unconcernedly filing her nails with an emery board when the animal poked its snout into her lap; she promptly leaned over and threw up—in my lap.

I stayed in Vientiane at the Constellation, the second best hotel, a seedy, fly-ridden dive right out of Graham Greene. Its entire ground floor is an open-air bar; across the unpaved main street is a tailor shop with a crudely lettered sign—in English—that reads "Jack of One Trade." Like most of Vientiane's buildings, the Constellation has no hot water; from its sinks and showers drips a rusty, lukewarm trickle of liquid. My shower was right in my room, which meant that the water splashed all over the floor and gathered in pools under my bed. But still, the Constellation has a certain endearing ambiance. On my first night in Vientiane, I didn't get back to the hotel until 4 A.M., when I discovered that I had lost my key. I finally roused the night clerk, a barefooted Laotian who had been sleeping under the staircase, and explained my predicament. He shrugged, scratched, and then pointed to the board on which all the room keys hung. Take your choice, he yawned, they all open all the doors.

The Constellation is the headquarters for most of the Western press in Vientiane—a combination message center, mailbox, and banking and loan association. But the main reason for its journalistic pre-eminence is its manager, a dour, sagging Franco-Italian, who as kingpin of the local money black market is the most accurate political barometer in Laos. "Something must be happening in the government," he will announce; "the price of the kip just fell from 142 to 138." Such pronouncements, invariably accurate, spare the press the necessity of unnecessary legwork and leave the reporters to spend the rest of the day swatting flies and sloshing beer.

Laos lives up to its reputation as a dusty Graustark hurtling headlong into the fifteenth century. Many of its two million people (some of whom claim to be able to turn themselves into werewolves at will) have never heard of the geographical accident



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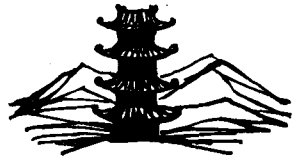
called Laos; a good proportion of the rest think that the world is flat and populated mainly by Laotians. On New Year's Day, the king's elephants are lectured on the principles of good conduct; in one province, a local functionary has paid his obeissance to civilization by making the elephants wear license plates.

Essentially, the Laotians are a friendly, non-combative, lethargic people whose most characteristic phrase is *"Be pen nyan,"* which roughly translates as "Who cares" or "What the hell." Though Laos has become a talisman of the Cold War, no one really takes the country seriously, and about the only effect that the



East-West tug of war has had on the Laotians is that it has given them a chance to shamelessly and ingeniously slicker the foreigners. Over $1,500,000 was spent on a road linking Luangprabang with Vientiane, a road that was under water six months of the year and was paved for only eight miles out of Vientiane—to the tennis court of a government minister. Savannakhet boasts a railroad station, but no railroad. Though Laos has almost no paved roads, nearly every petty bureaucrat has an official Mercedes limousine; the American ambassador, on the other hand, drives around in a black Checkers, which in gaudier greens, yellows, and reds is the car that is the mainstay of New York's taxicab fleet.

With so much of Laos like the figment of some pipe dream, it seems only fitting that the country's major cash product is opium. Since Laos' opium laws are lax, dealers from all over the world can do their trading in the tiny kingdom with comparative safety. Even the government is implicated in the traffic. During my stay, a private airplane leased to the government for a military requisition and using army gasoline, mistakenly overflew Thailand and was forced down by Thai Air Force planes. Accused of being a spy, the plane's pilot, a French mulatto who during the course of his life had acquired nine wives, denied the charge and said that he was only an honest

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opium smuggler. He had picked up 23 plastic-covered tin cases of the weed in Savannakhet, each one wrapped in a life preserver, flew out over the Gulf of Siam until he spotted a run-down fishing trawler. Swooping low over the craft, he dumped his life-belted cargo into the sea; the ship hauled in each case with a grappling pole. Though the pilot often made $2,500 for such a run, it would be unsafe for him to return to Laos. The last pilot who had played canary for the international narcotics authorities had lost his wife, daughter, and his own left leg when a plastic bomb wired to his car blew up as he started the motor.

Such is Laos—part Waugh, part Greene, part James Bond, and part Aesop. (If it didn't exist, someone would have to invent it.)

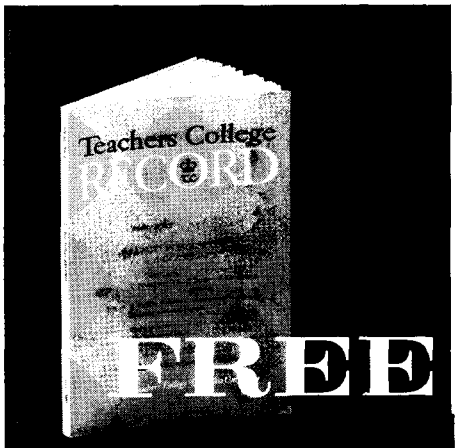
BOOKS IN BRIEF

SEEDS OF TREASON, by Ralph de Toledano and Victor Lasky; revised and updated by Ralph de Toledano (Regnery, $2.00). Even the 83,000 who made this vivid account of the Hiss trials a best-seller shouldn't miss the paperback. A new chapter details the eight more or less compelling proofs of Hiss' guilt unearthed since the trials and describes his oddly detached efforts to undo justice. The case remains an indictment of Liberalism, naked and scabrous before the Communist threat, but quick to lacerate the anti-Communist. Meanwhile, Hiss turns up at this cocktail party, that SANE rally; and those who move in less rarefied circles can watch the perjurer go by on his matutinal forays up lower Fifth Avenue into —the capitalist world? So we are told. But are there really that many stationery buyers who will never turn their backs on Alger Hiss? To whom does he peddle, besides Howard K. Smith? N. MCCAFFREY

THE SURVIVORS, *A Report on the Jews in Germany Today*, by Norbert Muhlen (Crowell, $3.95). No journalist writing in America today is better qualified to present a clear and critical interpretation of life in postwar Germany than Norbert Muhlen. He is both sympathetic and honest in his appraisals and his humanity has taught him to evaluate and to explain rather than to castigate. After the dreadful events of the past quarter-century such an irenic talent is needed in any discussion so potentially explosive as that dealt with in *The Survivors*. The story of the 40,000 Jews now living in Germany is as sad as it is interesting. For the most part they have returned to die or they are the remnants of the displaced persons who came from the East in such great numbers. Norbert Muhlen poses the question of whether or not they will become effective communities within modern Germany. It is too early to give a definitive answer but it would seem that the long and culturally dynamic association between Gentile and Jew in Germany was terminated by men who did not understand that charity is the basis of the natural as well as the supernatural life. From both a human and political standpoint the most interesting chapters of the book deal with the effort of the West German Government and individual West Germans to disentangle themselves from the web of Nazi guilt. The tragedy of great sin is that it can never be undone, but repentance, which is so notably lacking in the Communist world, is certainly the road to manhood as well as nationhood.

S. J. TONSOR

A HISTORY OF ZEN BUDDHISM, by Heinrich Dumoulin, S.J. (Pantheon, $7.50). The title is a misnomer. This is not history, either descriptive or scholarly. Father Dumoulin, Professor of History at Sophia University in Tokyo, attempts to show how the various stages and branches of Buddhism are related to each other. Dealing with Zen in this context, he emphasizes the fact that it is a religion, that those who have tried to divorce it from its historical and religious roots have denatured it, that Suzuki and others who have popularized Zen in the West sacrifice content by their emphasis on technique. This is, then, an essay in appreciation, a discerning attempt to sound the Buddhist profundities, but from the boat, without going overboard. The fact that the boat he works in is Peter's bark does not, in this rare instance, inhibit scholarship or sympathy. G. WILLS



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To the Editor

Canadian Elections

There seems to me precious little basis for the optimism expressed in your editorial [April 23] on the Canadian election returns. It is true that the Tories, Social Credit and NDP all campaigned against nuclear arms for Canada on various tendentious grounds. But the winner and new Prime Minister, Lester Pearson, is historically no friend of the United States, or of the anti-Communist cause in general, and it is absurd to suppose that he has undergone some mysterious sea-change for the better in his mid-sixties.

Pearson was the chief sponsor of long-time Communist Herbert Norman, whom he promoted through the ranks of Canada's foreign service—over the bitter resistance of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police—until in 1957 incidental revelations by the U.S. Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee triggered Norman's suicide in Cairo (where he was Canada's Ambassador). And Pearson's own record as Canada's Minister of External Affairs in the early 1950's was so odoriferous that *Time* referred to him in 1955 as "Canada's neutralist foreign minister, sometimes described as 'Nehru in a homburg.'"

Quite a bargain for NATIONAL REVIEW to report under the reassuring headline, "Relax, Yankee"!

Chicago, Ill. F. L. GREEN

Columbus Discovery

Well, chalk up another conservative victory! The City Council of Columbus, Ohio, has passed an ordinance requiring all merchants dealing in Communist imports to purchase a $100 license and post a sign (with letters no less than five inches in height) saying: WE SELL COMMUNIST IMPORTS. The Liberals have wailed that these signs might as well say: RECOMMENDED BY BENEDICT ARNOLD. Furthermore, merchants dealing in slave labor imports must state clearly and legibly on all their advertising that some of their goods come from behind the Iron Curtain.

Our YAF chapter wrote letters to the Councilmen and, with surprisingly little delay, Council passed a resolution saying that it's just insane to trade with the Communist bloc nations. The resolution, a reflection of the sentiment of many central Ohioan conservatives, was sent to Washington. YAF then started a campaign to stir up local interest in the problem of Communist trade, writing the newspapers, radio stations, and fellow-conservatives. Within three weeks, City Council, under steadily increasing pressure, held a public hearing.

That public hearing was one hilarious affair. Council asked if anyone wanted to speak against the ordinance outlined above. Two lonely Ohio State University professors stuck their hands in the air. There were plenty of people willing to speak in favor of the bill.

After the hearing, the bill was passed unanimously. Our mayor, good ol' Mr. Westlake, was vacationing in Florida. He hasn't returned yet, and the bill has become law without his signature.

It is our hope that similar ordinances may be passed in other large cities, thus effecting a nationwide repudiation of our State Department's foreign trade policy.

Bexley, Ohio CHARLES CHITTENDEN

Robert Frost, Economist

In praising the late Robert Frost both poetically and politically, as you did in your obituary remarks [Feb. 12], you apparently agree, though without the pejorative overtones, with the estimate of him expressed by the reviewer who, in the British *New Statesman*, called him a "bucolic conservative."

But will you admit agreement, if only in admiration for the poet, with that perennial target of your disagreement, John F. Kennedy? If so, would it temper your criticisms of the President's spending program to recognize that the poet you too admire, Robert Frost, wrote these lines of advice:

Never ask of money spent
Where the spender thinks it went.
Nobody was ever meant
To remember or invent
What he did with every cent.

New York, N.Y. CORINNA MARSH

102 Great Ideas

John Leonard doesn't clarify [March 26] what he is criticizing. He should have distinguished more carefully between the "Great Books of the Western World" (with the Syntopicon) and "The Great Ideas Today" which is an annual supplement of the latter and is one of the targets of his attack.

The benefits one receives from any phase of the "Great Books" program depend on one's motivation in participating. I don't doubt the fact that some people buy culture for culture's sake; but if even a few people acquire the rudiments of a critical intelligence through buying and reading the "Great Books" and using the Syntopicon, isn't the program worth promoting? And when did NATIONAL REVIEW start objecting to profit? I say

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pin a medal on Mortimer Adler and Robert Hutchins for selling something worthwhile.

Wichita Falls, Tex. HELLEN L. BEBB

Right of Search

I'd like to tell you an incident that happened to me yesterday in the subway here. I was sitting next to a rough-dressed young man, kind of tough-looking, 28-ish. He asked if the train went to 14th St., so of course I said, "You're not a New Yorker—where are you from?, etc." He was from Houston, a member of the merchant marine. Apparently glad of the chance to tell someone what was burning him up, he sort of exploded a remark about those G-d-Russians. I was curious, and he started to explain that they have lately harassed shipping, apparently all over the world. He said as soon as you get outside of the six-mile limit, you may be at their mercy. He said that only a few days ago his ship was stopped in the Mediterranean by a Russian submarine, with guns pointed; the crew boarded his freighter and made a search from stem to stern. He sounded burned up, not only from the humiliation, but from the overbearing arrogance and churlishness of the Russian officers, etc. I asked what they were looking for; he said nothing in particular, just apparently out to humiliate us. I then asked what flag they were flying and he said it was a U.S. Lines ship! Now the incident must surely have been reported to the State Department, but of course with this "managed" news, will never make the papers.

New York, N.Y. DAVIS QUINN

News Management—18th Century Style

Concerning management of the news: Thomas Jefferson, when serving as George Washington's Secretary of State, founded a newspaper, and subsidized it out of the State Department funds, to attack the policies of President Washington. He had not the decency to resign as a plain matter of disagreement. His attitude toward the French Revolution and the Citizen Genet affair is written in history for anyone who cares to look. This at a time when a French warship was entering Boston harbor with a streaming pennon bearing the names of prominent Bostonians who were to be sent to the guillotine when the Liberty Cap should come to America.

Jefferson's paid editor was Philip Freneau, our "Poet of the Revolution." (American, that is). The scurrility and cheap back-stabbing so disgusted President Washington that he refused to run for a third term.

Managed news has a long tradition. And long have we submitted to it.

Vail's Gate, N.Y. BURKE BOYCE

Just War (cont.)

By this time your readers may be thoroughly tired of the discussion of nuclear disaster set off by Frank Meyer's article [Feb. 12], but I would like to add one point in reply to Werner Heidel's letter in your April 9 issue. The argument "To those who cry, 'better dead than Red,' I extend my full support of their right to carry out that maxim for themselves. But let each man his quietus make. . . . No one has the right to make that decision for another," seems plausible. The problem is, however, that Mr. Heidel proposes to make my decision for me. The course of action I favor, in the event that improved weapons make world destruction a likely result of war, is barred by his position. It seems to me that adequate preparations for nuclear war, if the Communists try to make me Red, will probably let me keep both my life and my freedom. There is a risk, of course, but anyway that is the course I prefer. This policy, however, requires a willingness to proceed to world disaster if the Communists force the decision. Thus I *am* proposing to deprive Mr. Heidel of his choice under certain circumstances.

His policy, on the other hand, deprives me of my choice. If the government were willing to submit to the Communists to avoid a nuclear holocaust, then the Communists would not be such fools as not to take advantage of the opportunity. True, I would still have an opportunity to my own "quietus make," but this is a most restricted choice. Either the policy impliedly backed by Mr. Heidel or the one I favor will deprive some people of the right to make their own choice. Either involves someone making a decision for another and for the entire world.

Charlottesville, Va. GORDON TULLOCK

Instant Assistance

While we cannot volunteer to answer most of the fascinating array of requests and questions found in *NR*'s mailbag ["Notes and Asides," March 26], we *do* by chance happen to have an "Instant Constitution, complete with by-laws, for a projected Conservative Club." And we'll send it, sans charge, to anyone interested.

South Bend, Ind. MARILYN MANION
The Manion Forum

Postlude

You have done your readers a considerable disservice by printing Mr. Wills' "review" of the two books by Cardinal Newman [Nov. 6].

Wills' text gives no trace of any evidence that he had even glanced at the content of the two books he was supposed to be examining and explaining. All he has done has been to continue the unfortunate "Newman Legend," the myth that depicts Newman as a kind of super-theologian and misunderstood saint, which Newman definitely was not. It is unfortunate that men of Wills' stamp do not take the trouble to find out what Newman really wrote, and what he stood for.

Wills' ignorance of Newman's writings is paralleled by his complete unawareness of what has been written about Newman in *The American Ecclesiastical Review*. Yet that unawareness has not restrained him from making two ridiculously inept charges against what has been published in *AER*. While Wills' lack of competence makes him a rather pathetic figure, you of the NATIONAL REVIEW should be ashamed to print his maunderings in what is otherwise a fairly well-run paper.

Rome, Italy MSGR. JOSEPH C. FENTON

Mr. Wills Replies

Msgr. Fenton operates, always, on the principle of "overkill." It is not enough to say that I see things in a passage that are not there, or that I have failed to find some meaning available to more learned eyes. He says, and no doubt feels, with utmost confidence that I have never seen at all, or bothered to read, the passages under discussion. Even from his own standpoint, there are no legitimate grounds for this confidence. Perhaps I did read the two short Newman essays assigned to me for review, but was too stupid to get them straight; perhaps I read the *American Ecclesiastical Review* with some regularity, but deliberately distort its arguments; perhaps. . . . But hypothesis, realistic or generous supposition, doubt of any kind, are strangers to

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the neat world where Monsignor Fenton dwells, all light, encircled by that unbroken darkness where we fools and knaves live who disagree with him.

He will think me a liar as well as an imposter when I say that I have been reading a great deal of his work, and re-reading most of Newman's while putting together a book on Catholic debate (to be published next fall under the title *Catholic Freedom*). Msgr. Fenton is very readable; he has the energy of a Quilp, and can be almost as impressive. I have watched with fascination and fear his attacks on Fathers Yves Congar, John Courtney Murray, Hans Küng, and, most persistently, on Cardinal Newman. (Sample: "Newman prided himself on being a minimist in matters of doctrine. One might also say with truth that he was something of a minimist in the field of charity.") It is a great honor to have joined the company of men who are the objects of his lively vituperation. Though I am not their equal in learning or piety, this bond at least I have with them.

Baltimore, Md. GARRY WILLS

A Question

For the benefit of the unwashed—just who are the sialagogues [March 26]? Now that we have a new dirty word, let's not be selfish with it.

WILLIAM R. MIDDELTHON JR.
Hampden-Sydney, Va.

(NL *sialagogus,* fr Gk *sialon* saliva + *-agogos* promoting the expulsion of) —ED.

One World

On reading Frank Meyer's excellent article on "World Government" [March 12], it brought to mind some stirring words of Pope Pius XII on love of country. Said Pius to the people of LeMarche in March of 1958:

. . . "Today you sometimes meet citizens who are almost afraid to show any particular devotion to their country. As if a love of your own land has to mean a contempt for all other lands; as if the natural desire to see your own country beautiful, internally prosperous, and esteemed and respected by others, must inevitably lead to a hostility toward other peoples! There are even some people who are trying to get away from using the word "fatherland" and attempting to substitute other terms

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"The law will of necessity have inquisitorial features, it will provide penalties. It will create a complicated machinery.

Under it businessmen will be hauled into courts distant from their homes.

Heavy fines imposed by distant and unfamiliar tribunals will constantly menace the taxpayer.

An army of Federal inspectors, spies and detectives will descend upon the state. They will compel men of business to show their books and disclose secrets of their affairs. They will dictate forms of bookkeeping . . .

When the Federal Government gets a stranglehold on the individual businessman, state lines will exist nowhere but on the maps."

Richard E. Byrd, Speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates, from a speech delivered in 1910 on the amendment to the U.S. Constitution authorizing a Federal income tax.

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"Surely, beloved sons, We must say that this diminished love for the fatherland—the largest family given to us by God—is one more sign, and not the least important, of a loss of direction on the part of modern men. . . ."

Wollaston, Mass. J. E. MURPHY

Après Moi

Sir Shane Leslie, in reviewing a biography of John Anderson [Feb 26], suggests that Churchill considered Anderson his successor in the event the Prime Minister failed to return from one of his many wartime journeys.

However, Churchill wrote King George before his second trip to Washington suggesting that in the event of mishap the King should "entrust the formation of a new government to Mr. Anthony Eden . . . who is in my mind the outstanding Minister . . . in the National Government." (*The Hinge of Fate*, Book I, chapter 22).

Mr. Eden has been well enough interred in the past five years without the need to bury his splendid record of service with him.

Chicago, Ill. CARL G. THOR

Ars Gratia Regis

No national Administration has had a more favorable press regarding its concern for the arts than the Kennedy Administration [March 12] but its performance record to date is a big zero.

In Washington the Kennedy Administration has just cancelled the Third Annual inter-American Music Festival scheduled for 1963 because of "lack of funds." On the other hand, Cuba has recently held a ten-day inter-American Music Festival and is expanding its cultural programs involving leading Latin American countries.

The Kennedy Administration has approved a $10,000,000 aquarium for the Nation's Capital, and supports the payment of interest by District taxpayers on the $19.8 million bond issue raised to build the District Stadium. District residents had no voice in and no opportunity to approve or reject either of these "cultural" projects. No money is given the National Symphony Orchestra, or the century-old Corcoran Gallery of Art.

Washington, D.C. WM. B. WIDNALL, M. C.

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For 14 years Bob Thompson (right) has helped Jack McCarley with electrical projects designed to make farming easier and more profitable. Here Thompson, district agricultural development engineer for the Carolina Power & Light Co., chats with Jack and grandson Johnny on the McCarley farm near Wilmington, N. C.

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